

To Press Collective Security Plan

Brezhnev Opening Asia Policy Drive in India

By Hedrick Smith

MOSCOW, Nov. 25 (NYT).—Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev will open a foreign policy offensive tomorrow with a visit to India that will serve as a test for Soviet strategy in Asia.

Mr. Brezhnev—as a follow-up trip scheduled to Hanoi in January. According to it, "unconfirmed reports, he may also make stops in Pakistan and Afghanistan on his present voyage.

Mr. Brezhnev landed in Tash-

kent today for an overnight stop on his way to India, the Tass news agency said. Accompanied by Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and other officials, Mr. Brezhnev left Moscow this morning.

Advance Publicity

The Indian trip, given advance publicity in the Soviet media for two months, will provide the 67-year-old Soviet leader with a test for Moscow's concept of Asian collective security, which Mr.

Brezhnev presented at a world Communist meeting in Moscow in 1969.

Since then, only Iran has officially endorsed the idea in public. China, regarding this as a Soviet stratagem aimed at isolating and encircling Peking, has reacted coldly. Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka balked at the idea during his visit here in early October. Smaller powers in Southeast Asia have been undecided.

Neither Mr. Brezhnev nor Soviet press commentators have added details to the vague concept of an Asian collective security system. Some Asian and West European diplomats interpret the idea primarily as a technique for Moscow to project itself as an Asian power with broad ties throughout the region to rival the influence of Japan and the United States and to outflank China.

Other Western diplomats regard it as an attempt to dissolve once and for all the old anti-Communist Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and to neutralize other pro-Western Asian groupings by providing a continental atmosphere and structure of détente similar to that which Moscow is promoting in Europe.

Yet another interpretation is that Moscow, which has border disputes with both China and Japan, wants to fix Soviet frontiers in Asia at the limit of its World War II expansion.

New Delhi is regarded as an ideal capital to promote this concept because of the close political collaboration between the Soviet Union and India, especially since the signing in August, 1971, of the 20-year Soviet-Indian friendship treaty and the subsequent coordination of their policies during the Indian-Pakistani fighting that fall.

Dispatches from New Delhi have also reported Soviet officials privately urging the Indian government to make available permanent port facilities for the Soviet naval squadron in the Indian Ocean, but there has been no confirmation here. Most Western diplomats are doubtful that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi would agree to such an arrangement because it would compromise India's stated policy of non-alignment.

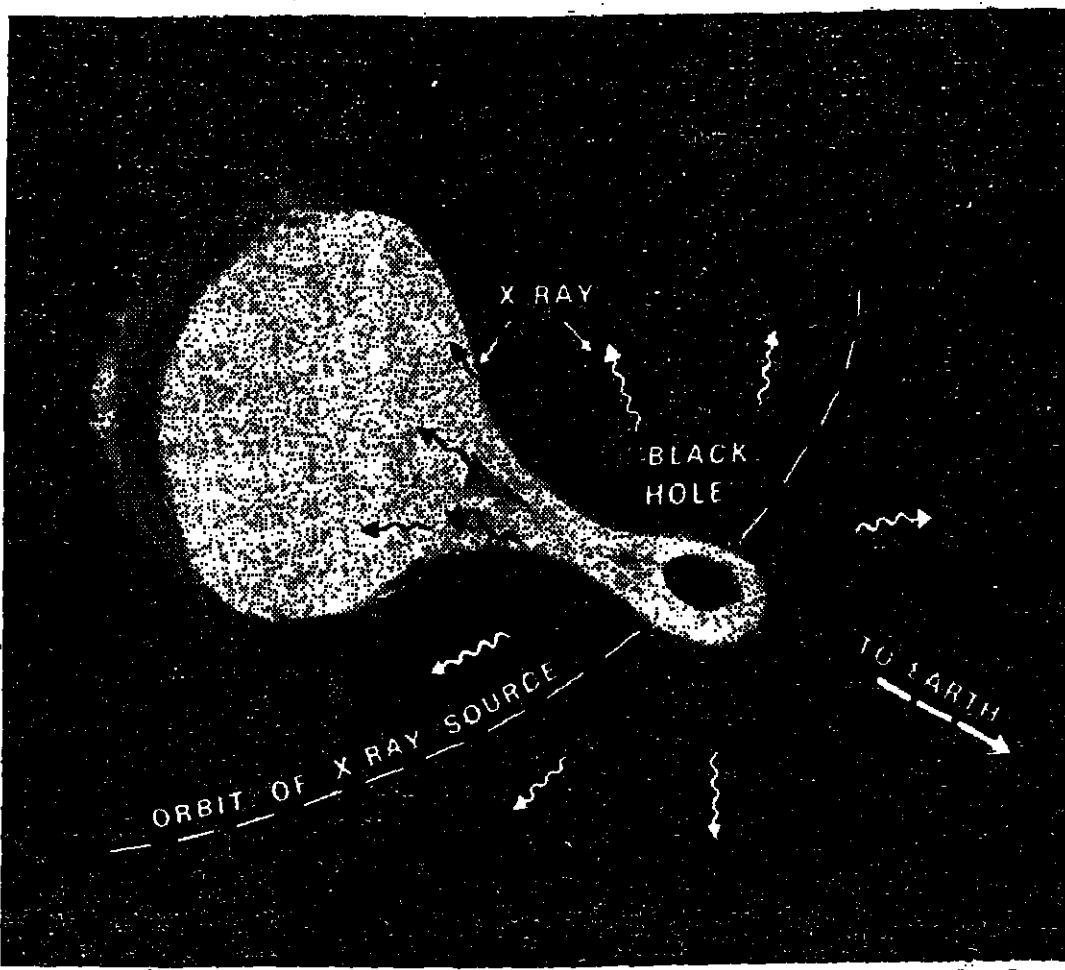
Brandt to Visit Pompidou Today

PARIS, Nov. 25 (AP).—President Georges Pompidou and West German Chancellor Willy Brandt will begin two days of private conversations tomorrow in which French sources say the main topics will be European defense policy, Europe's relations with the United States and the energy crisis.

It will be the third meeting this year between the two men.

French officials' sources discussing the agenda, said Mr. Pompidou and Mr. Brandt would go over the French proposal for a European defense planning group within the framework of the Western European Union. This would exclude the United States. Bonn would prefer the framework to be the European group of NATO—in which France no longer participates.

The French sources said the two points of view seemed difficult to reconcile.



Mysterious "black hole" star (right) about 8,000 light-years from the earth.

New Evidence After 22 Months, Pioneer-10 Reported on 'Black Holes' Nears Encounter With Jupiter

By John Noble Wilford

SANTA CRUZ, Calif., Nov. 25 (AP).—Three teams of astronomers say they have found evidence of a "black hole" in space—the remnant of a collapsed star with a gravitational field so great that no light can escape from it.

If the evidence proves true, it would be the first finding of an actual black hole. Until now, there has been no proof for the existence of black holes and astronomers have been eagerly hunting the first definite example of one.

A conclusive answer on the question would confirm another piece of the scientists' picture of the universe and its origins.

Using telescopes at the Lick Observatory here, two teams of University of California astronomers arrived at their conclusions separately. Reporting in the current issue of *Astrophysical Journal*, the astronomers said they found the black hole in a double star system, Cygnus X-1, more than 8,000 light years away.

"It's the best case that's been made so far for a black hole, but still not conclusive," said Dr. Jerome Kristian of Hale Observatories. He describes himself as an "ultraconservative" on the black hole issue.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration yesterday released a report on a third team, a group of scientists from University College, London, which assembled data from NASA's Orbiting Astronomical Observatory.

The British scientists said the X-ray equipment, about 400 miles above earth, had also detected evidence of the black hole in the Cygnus X-1 system.

Astronomers say a black hole is formed when a massive star dies by collapsing into itself. The resulting body is infinitely dense—its molecules are packed so incredibly close together that a spoonful would weigh a billion tons. So strong is its gravity that not only can no light escape from it—a black hole is invisible—but nearby matter is also sucked into it like a vacuum cleaner.

Companion Star

In the Cygnus system, the black hole is suspected to be the companion of a very large bright star believed to be 30 times more massive than the sun. Astronomers cannot see the black hole but deduce its existence by the effects it has on the motion of the bright star.

At issue in this case was whether the visible star was really the giant body it appeared to be. Only if it could be proven to be a truly massive star would it be reasonable to assume that its partner is a black hole.

The astronomers calculated the brightness, distance and size of the visible star, and concluded that it is big enough to be associated with a black hole.

Another characteristic of black holes is that, as they suck in nearby matter, X-rays are emitted. Researchers have found that there are indeed X-ray emissions from Cygnus X-1, which represent a million times more energy than the total output of the sun, although not everyone agrees about the source of the radiation.

NEW YORK, Nov. 25 (NYT).—After a 22-month, 600-million-mile voyage from earth, the first into the outer reaches of the solar system, Pioneer-10 is within 502 million miles of Jupiter and streaking in fast for man's first close-up examination of the planet that is so massive and turbulent that it is sometimes considered the stillborn twin of the sun.

The unmanned, 570-pound spacecraft is scheduled to make its closest approach to Jupiter on Dec. 3. Pioneer-10 is targeted to fly within 81,000 miles of the planet.

But already the spacecraft's instruments are sensing the "presence of the planet."

A University of Chicago charged-particle detector on Pioneer-10 is beginning to show traces of particle radiation from Jupiter, according to project officials at the Ames Research Center at Mountain View, Calif.

Picture Quality

A University of Arizona imaging system has returned pictures showing distinct views of Jupiter's multicolored atmospheric belts and its mysterious Great Red Spot. The pictures, primarily tests of the system, were encouraging to the hundreds of expectant scientists.

And there were some preliminary indications that Pioneer-10 is beginning to cross into Jupiter's magnetosphere, the region where a planet's magnetic field plays an important role in all physical phenomena.

Pioneer-10 has already penetrated within the orbits of the outer planets of Jupiter's 13 moons. Under the increasing influence of Jupiter's gravity, the spacecraft is gathering speed, now approaching at 25,000 miles an hour and expected to reach 82,000 miles an hour during the closest fly-by.

The spacecraft, launched from Cape Canaveral on March 2, 1972, carries 11 scientific instruments and all are reported to have survived the long journey in working order. Pioneer-10 was the first man-made object to fly through the asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter, finding it less of an obstacle course than had been feared.

Planet Barrier Cracked

To Dr. James A. Van Allen of the University of Iowa, one of the project scientists, the flight of Pioneer-10 represents the "cracking of the planet barrier."

Until now, all planetary probes were aimed at Venus, Mars and the earth's moon. They were close at hand and objects of fervent speculation, both scientific and popular.

Peron Says on TV He Has Bronchitis

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 25 (Reuters).—President Juan Peron appeared in a short television interview Friday night, saying he was "relatively well" and that his recent illness was bronchitis.

This was the first time the 78-year-old president had made any kind of public appearance since he became ill Wednesday morning.

popular. But it is estimated that 90 percent of all the matter in the sun's planetary system is out beyond the orbit of Mars—11 percent of it tied up in Jupiter.

An object of beauty and mystery, Jupiter is 1,300 times the size of earth, a fluffy ball of gas with multicolored stripes of slate gray, blue-gray, salmon and yellow. Its Great Red Spot, floating in the southern hemisphere, is considerably larger than the entire earth. The huge oval spot is about 30,000 miles long and 8,000 miles wide.

Pioneer-10 is expected to transmit 240 images of Jupiter and 10 images of its four largest planets. The resolution of the images will not begin to compare with the pictures from lunar and Mars missions. The smallest objects that should be visible in the images would be about as big as the state of Connecticut.

Top Earth Telescopes

Even so, this would be several times better resolution than can be obtained with earth-based telescopes. Pioneer-10 has an imaging photopolarimeter system that will transmit measurements of light intensity out of which images can be constructed on earth.

From Pioneer's other remote-sensing instruments, scientists hope to get some clues to other Jovian mysteries. Why does Jupiter radiate two to three times more heat energy than it receives from the sun? Why is it the only planet other than earth known to have a magnetic field and radiation belts? Is its composition similar to the primordial clouds out of which the sun and the planets were formed? Could this atmosphere support some primitive forms of life?

"What we hope for is a sort of serendipity," says Dr. A. G. W. Cameron, a Harvard University astronomer and cosmologist. "We know so little about the outer planets that hopefully this first black look will bring surprises and teach us a lot."

In the past, the United States has essentially relied on West Germany, through purchases of U.S. military equipment and U.S. Treasury bonds, to help offset the payments deficit. The United States and West Germany now are negotiating a new agreement, which they hope to conclude by the end of the year.

Under the pressure of the Jackson-Nixon amendment, the ad-

Senate Provision Helps U.S. Press Allies on NATO Costs

By John W. Finney

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 (NYT).—A little-publicized amendment to the recently passed military procurement bill is proving to be an irritant to America's NATO allies but a boon to U.S. officials pressing for an increased European contribution to the alliance.

The military procurement bill, signed by President Nixon last week, contains a Senate amendment requiring that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Europe in relation to the failure of NATO countries to offset the balance-of-payments deficit incurred by the United States in stationing forces.

For example, if the European allies fell short by 25 percent in offsetting the deficit during this fiscal year, which ends June 30, 1974, there would have to be a 25 percent reduction next year in the 310,000 U.S. troops stationed in Western Europe.

The payments deficit results from expenditures made by and for U.S. forces in Europe that end up as dollars held by European nations. Estimates of 1973 size range from \$500 million to \$1.5 billion annually depending on the accounting method used. The generally accepted "conservative" estimate of the Defense Department is \$1.5 billion.

A Compromise

The amendment, co-sponsored by Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D., Wash., and Sen. Sam Nunn, D., Ga., was originally offered as a compromise to block a more sweeping amendment by the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana. The version called for an immediate reduction in U.S. forces in Europe.

The administration's attitude toward the Jackson-Nunn amendment has significantly changed. After first opposing the amendment as disruptive, the Defense Department has come to regard it as a useful lever in forcing the European allies to share more of the cost of maintaining U.S. forces in Europe.

At a meeting of defense ministers of some NATO countries in The Hague last month, the U.S. secretary of defense, James R. Schlesinger, was reported to have used the Jackson-Nunn amendment with considerable force to underscore that the European allies must share more of the burden of maintaining U.S. troops. The effect, according to an associate of Mr. Schlesinger, was "finally to add a certain degree of reality to our previous warning."

Congressional insistence on resolving the balance-of-payments issue was underlined in the report of a conference of members of House and Senate Armed Services Committees, two groups that usually support NATO.

The report noted "the adverse impact on our balance of payments, an impact that has been especially objectionable in view of the strength of the currencies of some of our NATO allies, the recurring weaknesses of the U.S. dollar in relation to some of those currencies and the large dollar holding accumulated in West Europe."

In the past, the United States has essentially relied on West Germany, through purchases of U.S. military equipment and U.S. Treasury bonds, to help offset the payments deficit. The United States and West Germany now are negotiating a new agreement, which they hope to conclude by the end of the year.

Under the pressure of the Jackson-Nixon amendment, the ad-

ministration is attempting to persuade other allies besides West Germany to contribute to balancing U.S. payments.

The initial reaction, according to Defense Department officials, was decidedly negative. Between the strains of rising defense budgets, increased American urging, inflation and the pressure of European armaments firms which want to keep business at home, almost all the NATO countries have protested that they do not have the money to make purchases from the United States or assume the cost of operating U.S. bases in Europe.

U.S.-Japanese Defense Talk Are Sought

By Drew Middleton

NEW YORK, Nov. 25 (NYT).—Senior military and civil sources in the U.S. defense establishment are urging a second dialogue with Japan on the issue of anti-submarine warfare resources.

Japan's armed forces, second to qualified American officials, are reportedly U.S. press. But the Japanese point out that with only 1 percent of the world's gross national product devoted to defense, little of its stance can be contributed to the Japanese. U.S. sources, however, depend on the U.S. Navy for the protection of its island nation lives Japanese interest, they argue, calls for expansion of their anti-submarine warfare effort.

Anti-Submarine Emphasis

These sources say that, with expansion of the Soviet submarine service, anti-submarine warfare has become the primary strategic concern of all non-Communist countries.

For military planners in Washington, Tokyo and Western Europe, the Strait of Malacca, the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean are becoming increasingly important waterways in political estimates. The Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

Stoppage of the Strait

Stoppage of the Strait of Hormuz, or of its alternative, the Lombok Strait, "at any time would be a disaster," according to one in place source.

Defense planners believe must take into account a tactical situation in which a Soviet fleet would employ its submarine fleet to interrupt international oil traffic without using ground forces.

Japan, at the moment, has destroyers and 19 frigates as principal anti-submarine weapons. The Soviet Pacific fleet deploys about 110 submarines according to intelligence sources.

Key Question

Masataka Komaki, professor of law at Kyoto University, said Japan's defense posture light of the Nixon doctrine greater self-reliance, writes a paper published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London that Japan must decide whether to increase its own security capabilities and morale in a way which complements American capabilities.

Prevailing U.S. opinion is in affirmative.

The alternative, Western sources agreed, would be a unilateral fort by Japan to establish sea forces capable of protecting sea lanes.

U.S. and Japanese sources doubt whether such an effort within Japan's capability or there is a rapid, nationalist in support of a major national defense effort. There is no decision of this at present.

2 Letter Bombs Hurt Frankfurt Airport Worker

BOON, Nov. 25 (AP).—Six exploded letter bombs addressed to Israel were found after booby-trapped airmail letters, one of which injured a worker at Frankfurt Airport yesterday, a Postal Ministry spokesman announced today.

Seven airmail letters, most of them addressed to Israel, were found between 15 and 25 letters as sealed postal bags removed. Initial checks turned up no letter bombs, an airport spokesman said.

All eight letters, including two which "detonated," were addressed to Israel from the West German town, the airport spokesman said.

The spokesman said Post Minister Horst Ehmke has ordered tighter security measures postal employees handling letters addressed to Israel.

He said worker Ewald Lutz, who suffered serious wounds to his stomach and hip, and several fingers, was out of danger. Robert Simon, 47, suffered stomach wounds.

Servan-Schreiber Elect

PARIS, Nov. 25 (AP).—Jacques Servan-Schreiber was re-elected president of the Radical Socialist party at a convention here.

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Obituaries

Sessue Hayakawa, 87, Played 'River Kwai' Camp Leader

OKYO, Nov. 25 (AP).—Sessue Hayakawa, 87, the Japanese actor who received an Academy Award nomination for his role as the camp commander in the movie "The Bridge on the River Kwai," died Friday night.

Mr. Hayakawa, who won him the 1957 movie that won him the Academy Award nomination, was born in Tokyo. He played a Japanese Imperial officer whose duty during World War II was to build a bridge over the River Kwai in Thailand, using Allied prisoners of war as labor.

Started in "Typhoon" in 1934, Mr. Hayakawa was a figure of fame for his parents. His station had been established years before, in 1914, when he played in "Typhoon" with Bessie Dore. For some, the darkly handsome leading man was the Japanese they had ever seen.

Mr. Hayakawa's heyday, before the income tax, was the days of Hollywood's heyday. He starred as lower and middle class men in more than 120 films. A \$7,500 a week in 1930 and he had a 32-room castle in Hollywood. He was a close friend of such actors as Rudolph Valentino and John Barrymore.

His career had many stages. In the days of Hollywood, he became an impoverished actor. For 12 years he lived in France, subsisting by painting oil paintings. After World War II, he returned to Japan and lived in a modest apartment.

Miss Dore had been active during the years in many causes, among them universal suffrage, world government and the Women's Peace Union, of which she was secretary.

Julia Tiffany Weld NEW YORK, Nov. 25 (NYT).—Mrs. Julia Tiffany Weld, 85, who contributed to medical research, although she had no scientific degree, died Thursday.

Mrs. Weld was the widow of Francis Minot Weld, an investment banker, and a daughter of Louis Comfort Tiffany, art director of the Tiffany Studios, and the former Louise Wadsworth Knox.

Mrs. Weld worked in medical research throughout her adult life, first in the Columbia Presbyterian Hospital and later in Cornell University Medical College, where she held a faculty appointment as a research assistant. She retired two years ago.

Pierre Duclos PARIS, Nov. 25 (Reuters).—French composer Pierre Duclos, 44, died here today after an undisclosed illness.

Mr. Duclos composed a symphony and had written two operas, "La Religieuse Portugaise" (The Portuguese Nun) and "Le Voyageur" (The Traveler).

He had also written the musical score for about 200 films.

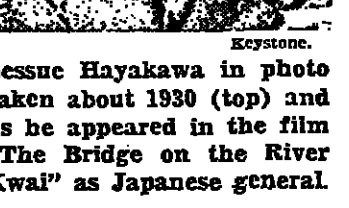
Skylab-3 Crew Prepares for Week of Projects HOUSTON, Nov. 25 (AP).—Skylab-3 astronauts repaired and tested equipment today to get ready for their first full week of scientific study of the earth, the sun and the comet Kohoutek.

Astronauts L. A. Col. Gerald P. Carr, Dr. Edward G. Gibson and Lt. Col. William R. Pogue, well-rested from their first full day of yesterday, spent today working with television and still cameras aboard their orbiting space station.

Col. Carr and Dr. Gibson removed and replaced a television monitor in the Skylab solar telescope camera control panel. The television screen, which the astronauts use to aim the telescope, went blank during the Skylab-3 mission. After repairs, Dr. Gibson reported, "The picture is superb."

The free day yesterday for the astronauts also allowed mission control time to develop procedures for managing maneuvers of the Skylab station, which has lost the use of one of its three control gyroscopes.

The gyroscopes failed on Friday. Officials said nearly normal operations can be conducted with the remaining two. But it's going to take longer to make maneuvers and the station will use more control fuel.



Sessue Hayakawa in photo taken about 1930 (top) and as he appeared in the film "The Bridge on the River Kwai" as Japanese general.

Rebels Roam Guinea-Bissau But Portuguese Retain Cities

BISSAU, Nov. 25 (Reuters).—People in Bissau tell, but in whispers only, the story of the African guerrillas and their taxi ride to the airport.

One evening last year two African guerrillas belonging to the African party for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) stopped a taxi here and asked to be taken to the airport.

When they arrived, they paid the fare, then fired a number of small rockets from portable launchers, which did no damage to the airport and disappeared into the night.

Since that incident all vehicles going to the airport have to pass a Portuguese Army checkpoint where they are searched.

This port town on the Atlantic is, for the Portuguese, the capital of what they regard as the overseas territory of Portuguese Guinea, a west African territory between Guinea and Senegal that has about 500,000 inhabitants.

PAIGC guerrillas operate throughout the territory, which they proclaimed the independent republic of Guinea-Bissau in September. Portuguese authorities admit the scope of their operations by regularly publishing lists of PAIGC attacks. Crosses on the Portuguese maps showing where attacks were made make a pattern all over the territory, dominated by Portugal for five centuries.

The Portuguese say they control the whole territory, while the PAIGC claims to have liberated far more than half of it.

According to the Portuguese, the guerrillas possess modern arms from Communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. These include mobile ground-to-air missiles which have shot down five Portuguese aircraft. Since that happened, the 45 pilots stationed in Bissau fly at tree-top height to evade detection.

Liberal Portuguese residents of Bissau say the Portuguese control the bigger towns and send out patrols fairly regularly into the surrounding countryside, where they usually come into contact with guerrillas and exchange fire with them.

Since the PAIGC men use hit-

Restless Danish Voters Worry Main Parties

COPENHAGEN, Nov. 25 (NYT).—The Danes, now being buffeted by winter winds and the rhetoric of an election campaign, have reached broad agreement on one thing—they are heading for a period of rare political turmoil.

There is a mood of disenchantment with all the old parties, and the more than five million Danes, who are among the world's wealthiest people, are complaining bitterly of political poverty and threatening to turn to maverick parties in a show of protest.

As in Sweden and Norway, the Social Democrats, who have so long dominated political life and forged strong welfare states, are in trouble. Danes, like Swedes and Norwegians, are finding the delights of social welfare just too costly.

Accordingly, in their disaffection and frustration, the Danish voters appear ready to demonstrate at the polls on Dec. 4 that they have reached the limit on tax burdens. A \$12,000-a-year

man here, for example, may pay as much as 50 percent in income tax, depending on dependents and deductions.

"We don't see an end to it," said a 33-year-old engineer in a bar. "I don't mind paying my fair share, but in my case it's just too much. The politicians appear useless in stopping the trends. We just don't trust them anymore. In this election the people are thinking."

Menace of Paralysis What are they thinking about is turning to two new political parties, which the polls now show with a surprising 25 percent of the vote. The result would be a loss of seats for each of the five political parties now in parliament and a period of virtual legislative paralysis.

One beneficiary of the mood is Mogens Glistrup, a 47-year-old lawyer who boasts that, as a millionaire, he has discovered so many loopholes that he pays no taxes. He formed the Progress party more than a year ago, pledging to abolish the income

tax system and make up the loss by trimming the bureaucracy.

"We'd abolish income tax by 1980 and have a big ceremony burning all papers in the revenue office," he said in an interview.

Another maverick is Erhard Jacobsen, who quit the Social Democratic party this month, formed his own, the Center Democrats, and finds himself with a higher standing in the polls than Mr. Glistrup. A member of parliament for 20 years and the mayor of a suburb of Copenhagen, he feels that the Social Democrats have moved too far left and he gains supporters with frequent television performances and arguments about property taxes.

By the nature of its system, Denmark has often been ruled by a coalition, either open or tacit. But with the reported strength of the two new parties, many here see nothing but chaos in future parliamentary alliances.

Another problem for the Social Democrats is their leader, Anker Jorgensen, who is respected but lacks political and administrative experience. A 51-year-old trade unionist, he became party leader last year after Jens Otto Krag resigned.

At a debate last week, the premier deftly handled questions and stressed his party's theme—"Don't gamble with your future." The problem for him and his party is that many Danes appear ready to do just that on the ground that they have little to lose.

The Danes really have few troubles," remarked Mr. Glistrup as he thumbed through the last tables. "I do agree with many of my opponents who say a Dane's main problem is that he is eight pounds overweight. I just want to make his life better."

New Violence Claims 3 Lives In N. Ireland

BELFAST, Nov. 25 (Reuters).—Three persons were killed in a fresh outbreak of violence throughout Northern Ireland in the last 24 hours.

In Belfast, an army patrol found the hooded body of a 27-year-old man, stabbed to death on a street in the Republican market area. He was believed to have been killed by the IRA.

The second victim, a 17-year-old youth, died in a hospital after being shot during a guerrilla bomb attack late yesterday on an army post in the Catholic Davis Flats district. An army marksman opened fire on the speeding car carrying the attackers and was thought to have hit the youth.

Yesterday, a land-mine explosion at Crossmaglen, near the Irish Republic border, took the life of the 20th British soldier killed in Ulster since troops were deployed in the province in the fall of 1969. In all, 908 persons have been killed in Northern Ireland since 1969.

More Streets Shut To Traffic in Rome

ROME, Nov. 25 (UPI).—City officials yesterday closed another part of ancient Rome to pedestrians, banning cars from a large central area that includes the most fashionable shops.

Bicycles and baby carriages replaced bumper-to-bumper traffic in areas ranging from the Spanish Steps to the Via del Corso and the Via Condotti to the Via del Tritone.

Thousands strolled down the middle of streets that had been among the most congested in the city. Eventually all of Rome's historic center will be closed to private traffic.

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To Change Lifestyles, International Relations

The World Resources Shortage

By Lester R. Brown

WASHINGTON (WP)—As we approach the final quarter of this century, global scarcity of many important resources is emerging. The energy crisis has been occupying the headlines, but scarcity of other resources is now apparent too.

Global consumption of every important mineral required by a modern industrial economy is increasing dramatically. Having already depleted their own reserves of critical raw materials, industrial countries are turning increasingly to nonindustrial countries for supplies. As global economic growth continues, we can only anticipate growing international competition and rising prices for supplies of many key resources.

Accelerating world price rises and frequent shortages of forest products—lumber, fuel and newsprint—are arising from the fact that the earth is gradually being deforested.

Shortages of natural fibers, principally cotton and wool, are helping to drive up clothing prices. In the past, scarcity of natural fibers has been offset easily by increased production of man-made fibers. However, the rising cost of petroleum—a basic raw material for the synthesis of fibers—has severely reduced that possibility.

Supply Outstripped

Skyrocketing food prices in 1973 resulted in part from a disturbing long-term trend: the global demand for foodstuffs generated both by population growth and affluence is gradually outstripping the productive capacity of the world's farmers and fishermen.

Food scarcity is being accentuated by energy scarcity. Energy is an important cost in the manufacture of chemical fertilizers, and the primary raw material for the production of crucial nitrogen fertilizer is natural gas. High-yield agriculture in Western Europe, Japan and the Midwestern United States depends upon the intensive use of energy.

In many nations, population growth and economic growth are rapidly increasing the demand for land suitable for living space and commercial purposes. The result has been soaring land prices. Recreational, industrial and residential uses are reducing the land available for food production—a dangerous trend in a food-short world which has little unused arable land.

One essential resource which is beginning to constrain the expansion of both agricultural and industrial activity in substantial areas of the world is the availability of fresh water. Within agriculture, it is now the principal constraint on the spread of the new high-yielding dwarf wheats in countries ranging from Mexico to Afghanistan. It is hamstringing Soviet efforts to meet expanding domestic demand for livestock products.

In many nations, we are seeing growing pressures on ocean resources on which economic activity depends: waste absorptive capacity, increases in the incidence of environmentally induced illnesses, the change in oxygen content of lakes and a lengthening list of species threatened with extinction are among the symptoms.

The scarcity characterizing the world market for many important commodities in the early 1970s must not be viewed as a historical accident or a temporary situation which will shortly vanish. It is the product of continuing exponential economic growth within the physical constraints of a finite, rather small planet. And if we are to deal with this problem, we must create new mechanisms of global cooperation, such as a world food reserve and international management of ocean fisheries.

We are, in fact, seeing a domino effect of resource scarcity in operation. A shortage of fresh water with which to restore strip-mined areas holds down the level of coal extraction, adding pressures not only on available coal supplies but on all other energy resources as well. A fall-off in the growth of the world fish catch raises global demand for soybeans in order to produce substitute protein products such as poultry. A scarcity of cotton pulls cropland needed for soybean production into cotton production, intensifying the protein shortage. The list of such extended chains or networks of resource interdependence is long.

Economists traditionally have regarded substitution as the panacea for scarcity of a particular resource. In today's world, however, the opportunities for substitution frequently insure only that scarcity is contagious. These are not merely national scarcities affecting a particular country or group of countries, they are global scarcities. Countries throughout the world are dependent on common supplies of petroleum, soybeans, marine protein, copper and natural fibers. As the global economy has become more integrated, as a result of growing monetary interdependence and rapidly expanding international trade, it has become exceedingly difficult for individ-

ual countries to isolate themselves from scarcities elsewhere.

The United States, historically blessed with relative self-sufficiency of resources, is experiencing a growing dependence on imported minerals, closely paralleling that for energy. Of the 13 basic raw materials required by a modern economy, the United States in 1970 was dependent on imports for more than half of its supplies of six. By 1985, it is projected to be primarily dependent on imports for supplies of nine of the 13 basic raw materials, including three major ones: bauxite, iron ore and tin.

In no areas has American interdependence with the world been demonstrated more dramatically than with food. If there is any area in which the U.S. economy was believed to be invulnerable, it was its capacity to provide an adequate supply of low-cost food for American consumers. But at present, American consumers find that they must share food scarcity with consumers in other countries, most importantly those in the Soviet Union. The United States could have avoided the politically painful food price rises of early 1973 by restricting farm exports, but unfortunately an adequate U.S. energy supply is dependent on expanded farm exports to pay the rapidly rising import bill.

The international consequences of the growing common dependence on geographically concentrated, and often increasingly scarce, global resources deserve far more attention than they have thus far received.

Resource scarcities are altering the economic and political relationships among countries, changing the relative position and influence of countries in the international hierarchy. A given country may find its position abruptly strengthened in one sector of economic activity and weakened in another.

World food scarcity has greatly improved the terms on which the United States makes foodstuffs available to the rest of the world. But its negotiating position in the world energy economy has deteriorated sharply. The converse is true for the Soviet Union, which is highly vulnerable in food but in a much better position with energy, which it produces in surplus. Efforts by individual countries to expand their share of global output, employment and wealth are taking new forms. Linkages between global scarcities and internal policies affecting economic growth, inflation and employment are becoming both more numerous and more direct. Stresses on the international political fabric are increasing. Cooperation among countries is needed in spheres of activity where none was needed before.

Since World War II, the overriding objective of national trade policies has been that of expanded access to markets abroad for exports. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was created specifically

with this in mind. Five successive rounds of GATT negotiations since World War II have steadily reduced tariff barriers, as evidenced by the healthy growth in world trade throughout the post-war period.

Access Is Issue

Scarcity is now bringing the other side of the international trade coin, the question of access to supplies, to the fore. Highlighting this question is the disturbing tendency for countries to limit exports of raw materials. Countries are limiting exports to cope better with internal inflationary pressures, to extend the foreign exchange-earning lifetime of a nonrenewable resource, to increase the share of indigenous processing, to improve export terms and to take advantage of anticipated future price rises.

Countries with nonrenewable resources such as petroleum and minerals are beginning to ask themselves at what rate they want to exploit their resources. Historically, when potential supplies almost always exceeded prospective demand and supplier countries were eager to maximize exports, this issue was seldom raised. But today it is a much more complex issue.

Should the growth in world demand determine the rate at which a given resource is exploited or should it be determined by some longer-term internal development strategy, which might argue for a much slower rate of exploitation and lower level of exports?

What should determine the rate at which Venezuela's remaining oil reserves are exploited? Is longer-term foreign exchange needs or the short-term consumption needs of the United States? The former may argue for a much lower level of petroleum production and export than the latter.

Exports of scarce commodities are being banned or restricted by a number of countries in order to cope with internal inflationary pressures. Brazil has limited the export of beef in 1973 to levels 30 percent below the corresponding month in 1972. Thailand, a leading world supplier of rice, has banned exports in order to prevent inordinate price rises in its national food staple. The United States severely limited the export of soybeans this summer (the controls subsequently were lifted) and it is virtually the sole supplier of this critical protein resource to the rest of the world.

As lumber prices soar within the United States, a leading exporter of forest products, it is attempting to negotiate a voluntary quota for Japan on its imports of U.S. forest products. This represents a dramatic turnaround in U.S.-Japan trade relationships, where the focus over the last decade has been on the negotiation of voluntary quotas with the Japanese to limit their exports of textiles and steel to the United States. Under what condi-

tions should a country be permitted to use trade policy, in effect, to export inflation?

Should a country be permitted to deny others access to an indigenous raw material of which it is the principal global supplier? We must begin to at least ask the question of how to cope with export throughout the world.

Many developing countries see the improved market outlook for raw materials as an opportunity to substitute exports of semi-processed or processed raw materials for those of raw materials per se. They wish to abandon the "hewers of wood, drawers of water" role they have traditionally occupied in the world economy. Perhaps the best single example to date of the exercise of newly acquired bargaining power is an agreement between Japan and Turkey, wherein Japan has agreed to build a 50,000-ton-a-year ferrochrome ore alloy plant in Turkey in exchange for agreement to supply a million tons of chrome or over the next 11 years.

If the Shah of Iran gets his way, more and more of the oil leaving Iran will be refined rather than crude oil. Argentina, Brazil and India are taking advantage of the global scarcity of cattle hides by restricting or banning exports, thus furthering development of their domestic leather goods industry. In effect, they hope to shift the geographic focus of the leather goods export industry from Italy and Japan to the Southern Hemisphere.

Indonesia is combining its favorable resource situation with mounting Japanese fears of pollution at home to persuade Japanese firms investing in mineral extraction to ship processed ore rather than crude ore to Japan.

Four countries eager to acquire smelters, and the jobs which they bring, are likely to view their unused or underused waste absorptive capacities as a resource to be exploited in international economic competition, much like mineral reserves or fertile farmland.

Weaker Position

The response of investors to pollution differentials among countries in some ways parallels that of wage differentials. In effect, firms are beginning to locate pollution-intensive phases of their operations in countries with low pollution levels, much as they have located labor-intensive aspects of their operations in low-wage countries, most prominently Mexico, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea over the last decade. As the industrial countries turn increasingly to nonindustrial countries for raw materials, their negotiating position is likely to weaken over time, altering the terms on which these raw materials are made available.

In the wake of the extraordinarily successful, highly visible collective bargaining by petroleum exporters over the last few years, the possibility of col-

lective bargaining by suppliers of other raw materials is being viewed with more than ordinary interest. For them it is a tantalizing model. The prospects for successful collective negotiation by raw material exporters are influenced by a number of factors, including the number of suppliers, the ability and willingness to restrict supply, the availability of possible substitutes, alternative sources of foreign exchange earnings for the supplier and the possibility for collective bargaining by importing countries.

Efforts to bargain collectively fall far more often than they succeed, but often a convergence of special circumstances can give the exporting countries the leverage to alter the terms on which a given raw material is made available. A prolonged strike in the mining or transport sector and interference with global transport arteries such as blockage of the Suez Canal or the severing of a strategic rail or pipeline linking a major supplier with world markets, are but two of the events which can combine to strengthen inadvertently the hands of exporting countries.

One of the necessary, though far from sufficient, requisites for effective collective bargaining is that a relatively small number of countries control most of the exportable supplies. Four poor countries—Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire—supply most of the world's exportable surplus of copper. Three others—Malaysia, Bolivia and Thailand—account for 70 percent of all tin entering international trade channels. Australia, Mexico and Peru account for 80 percent of the exportable supply of lead. Cuba and New Caledonia have well over half of the world's known reserves of nickel. Known reserves of cobalt are concentrated in Zaire, Cuba, New Caledonia and parts of Asia.

Exportable protein feedstuffs are concentrated in even fewer countries. One country, Peru, supplies most of the fish meal entering the world market.

Exportable supplies of cereals are controlled by a few countries. North American dominance of cereal exports, both foodgrains and feedgrains, is even greater than Middle Eastern dominance in energy. Not only is the United States the leading supplier of wheat and feedgrains, but it is now the leading exporter of rice as well. The world is more dependent on North American food supplies than ever.

Suppliers of some raw materials are controlled by a few countries. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The four copper exporting countries are already doing so. There is concern within the aluminum industry that the politics of petroleum are becoming the politics of bauxite. Coffee exporters are beginning to bargain collectively as a group whereas in the past they were dependent on the willingness of the importing countries to support prices of coffee.

While some poorer nations may be benefiting handsomely from re-



source shortages, others may suffer greatly. Global resource scarcity could threaten future economic progress in those countries which are densely populated and not blessed with any of the critical raw materials the rest of the world needs.

For example, a 40 percent rise in the world market price of petroleum and cereals could bring economic development to a near standstill in those poor countries dependent on imports of both. The foreign assistance needs of resource-rich Indonesia, Algeria or Brazil no longer can be considered in the same light as those of Bangladesh, India or Colombia.

Global resource scarcities impinge heavily on economic and political relationships among countries, in part because they affect so directly the living conditions within a given country. They affect the very lifestyles of people, their dietary habits, their mode of transportation. The level of protein intake in the Soviet Union and Japan are directly affected by U.S. farm export policy. The size of automobiles in the

United States is inevitably affected by production decisions of Middle Eastern oil countries. It is this dimension of global resource scarcity that makes the terms of access to needed resources such a politically sensitive issue.

Lifestyle Shift

As global resource scarcity makes itself felt within the United States, it is generating a need to modify lifestyles. As long as the resources consumed within the United States are largely indigenous, how much waste is consumed was largely an internal matter, but as these resources come more and more from abroad, others will have some say over the rate and terms on which they are consumed.

Many of the technologies embodied in the U.S. economy evolved in a situation of resource abundance, of seemingly unlimited supplies of energy, land and water. The time has now come to re-examine these technologies in light of the growing resource scarcity. For example, the time may have come to redesign the transportation system, imposing limits on the size of automobiles and investing more in urban mass transit and less in interstate highways and urban thoroughways.

A similar situation exists with food. Claims on world food resources by the average American are nearly five times as great as those of the average Indian, Nigerian or Colombian. Whether Americans can continue to consume ever more animal protein in a protein-scarce world, as existing economic projections indicate they intend to, is now problematic. It may become necessary, for both economic and ecological reasons, to begin to substitute high-quality vegetable protein for animal protein, much as vegetable oils have been substituted for animal fats over the last generation.

Coping with scarcity of some resources calls for specific new modes of international cooperation. Growing food scarcity is one such need. While the world grain reserves now far below the desirable working level, and killed cropland in the United States rapidly disappearing, a major stabilizing influence on world food prices has been lost. Under these circumstances, an internationally managed world food reserve becomes highly desirable as a counter to the threat of famine and as a source of assurance and security to consumers everywhere, including the United States.

In some instances, such as in world fisheries, the failure to cooperate could leave all involved worse off. Unless an institutional framework can be created within which to cooperatively manage oceanic fisheries, we must face the prospect of depleted stocks, declining catch and soaring sea-food prices. It is in this context that consumers have a direct stake in the forthcoming UN-sponsored Law of the Sea Conference.

Advancing technology has brought us to the point where national efforts to expand the supply of fresh water through river diversion or alteration of rainfall patterns may have international impact if not global consequences. Under these circumstances, we need

to think seriously of creating a supranational institution to regulate national interventions in the hydrological cycle. What should a country be permitted to do with its rainfall at the expense of another, if at all? Should individual countries be permitted to divert river flows, deforest on a scale which will affect the global climatic system?

Scarcity, manifested in rising prices and intensified competition among countries for access to and control of resources, may make continuing global population growth a much more obvious threat to the future well-being and security of people everywhere than it is today.

One of the inevitable consequences of scarcity and, most importantly, the realization that it may not be temporary, is a growing doubt as to whether the currently projected world population of 6.5 billion by the end of the century will be considered tolerable. This in turn may have a new urgency for putting on the demographic brakes. The UN-sponsored World Population Conference, now scheduled for Bucharest in August, 1974, and the world population plan of action it is intended to produce.

The supply position of various materials undoubtedly will prove from time to time in the years ahead, but overall the prospect is for continuing scarcity. Over the longer term, technological breakthroughs may dramatically improve the supply situation. The energy crisis may, in fact, disappear, but a technological breakthrough which might put this, such as the harnessing of fusion power, is not likely to have an impact before 1980 at best. Advances in the technology of fish farming may some day permit growth in the supply of cultivated fish to offset the inevitable decline in growth in the oceanic catch. But progress of this scale almost certainly will be reserved for some point beyond the current decade, if it comes at all. And so it is with all too many resources plagued by global scarcity.

How to cope with global scarcity must be recognized as a global problem. The temptation at the governmental level will always be to act in the national interest narrowly defined, and against other countries for inflationary economic stagnation, rising unemployment or other ill-effects from scarcity. All too often, the will be tempted to use trade and monetary policy to export inflation and unemployment.

We believe, however, that the years ahead will be an era of international relations. At best, they will be troubled ones. The complex resource issues which must be resolved, one way or another, will place great strains on the international political fabric. At issue is whether we can create a workable world order in an increasingly interdependent world.

The author, a senior fellow on the Overseas Development Council, is a former Agriculture Department official and the author of "Seeds of Change" and "World Without Borders." He wrote this article for The Washington Post.

Francois-Xavier Ortoli: The Common Market's Peacemaker

By Paul Kemezis

BRUSSELS (NFT).—In October, at the start of the Arab oil boycott against the Netherlands, Francois-Xavier Ortoli, president of the Common Market Commission, confidently predicted that the other eight nations of the European Economic Community would show their solidarity with the Dutch in the energy supply question.

But up to now this has not happened, causing acute embarrassment for the 13-man, Brussels-based commission. During 1973, the supranational body has tried to ease the Nine into a common energy policy, but when the crisis broke, the weak fabric already in place did not hold.

A system set up in May to coordinate emergency fuel-saving measures among the Nine was ignored although many member countries have taken individual steps to cut oil use.

No Policy

Commission suggestions to centralize information on oil stocks and imports and to create a communitywide licensing system have also been shunned aside. "When we are asked why there is no common energy policy," says Henri Simonet, commission member in charge of energy, "we say it's not our fault. Our job is to think up solutions and make proposals. It's up to the Council of Ministers (of the nine governments) to make decisions."

Since the crisis broke, the member governments have sought to solve the oil problem by making diplomatic overtures to the Arabs. They have avoided any overt action to coordinate domestic oil policies, fearing the Arabs might take it as a threat.

The Netherlands, the only member under full boycott, reluctantly accepted this policy at first. But as the crisis has deepened, an edgy Dutch government has repeatedly demanded prom-

ises from its eight partners that they will share oil once the two-month reserves of the Netherlands run out.

Dutch Threat

The Dutch say that if the others block oil exports to the Netherlands, which is illegal anyway under Common Market rules, they will be forced to stop exports of North Sea natural gas to their partners.

This has made the crisis a highly politicized issue and Brussels sources now believe some sort of package deal is in preparation to break the deadlock.

In one hypothesis, sharing oil with the Netherlands could be tied to French demands of support for a French uranium enrichment plant and demands by other members on regional aid.

Unless the Arab boycott is lifted, diplomatic sources believe some sort of supply guarantee will have to be given to the Dutch during the Common Market summit Dec. 14 and 15 in Copenhagen.

Says Mr. Simonet: "If the summit doesn't come to a community accord on oil, it will show a powerlessness which will have profound consequences."

Mr. Simonet is hopeful that the crisis might shock the member countries into giving the commission real coordinating powers in energy policy for the future. Nevertheless, the fact that this crisis has not been handled through normal channels is a severe disappointment for the Ortoli commission.

Ortoli, 48, a pragmatic Corsican, has displayed high managerial skills in shaping the 13-man group into a dynamic unit since it took office last January.

Political Flair

Coming from the post of French Science Minister, Mr. Ortoli has also shown a political flair by forging compromises be-



Francois-Xavier Ortoli

tween the nine governments on vital issues and inserting himself as an informal go-between among Europe's top statesmen.

This political sense also pervades the commission which contains six former government ministers. "The men at the top of the commission understand the political situation," said one American diplomat talking about the oil crisis. "It's the people lower down who are almost ready to quit."

Peacemaker

On Mr. Ortoli's iron insistence, the commission members make realistic proposals after consultation with the governments, and then they band together to push the plans through. This has made it the most effective commission in the European Economic Community's 15-year history. It is also the most hard-working, because of Mr. Ortoli's insistence that commission members attend all meetings and set to work on time.

Taking advantage of his close

personal links with President Pompidou, Mr. Ortoli acts as a sort of roving peacemaker in the Common Market's squabbles. In August, for example, he was helpful in persuading an edgy French government that West Germany was not about to quit the Common Market. Last month he traveled to London and Dublin seeking to create a compromise with France on the key issue of aid to depressed regions. This behind-the-scenes activity is in contrast with the approach of his predecessors, especially Sicco Mansholt, who sought to influence governments with idealistic statements with little effect.

Though there are complaints that Mr. Ortoli inevitably supports the French position during debates within the commission, revealing his Gaullist background, he has always accepted the majority decision as final and defended it ably, especially against attacks from French ministers.

Big Test

The real test of how effective the Ortoli commission has been will come in December when the governments must decide on key policies using the proposals drawn up by the commission during the year as a basis.

The main plans in question are a new regional-aid program that is strongly supported by Britain, Ireland and Italy, and a move toward closer economic cooperation. Both must be decided by Dec. 31, according to deadlines set by the Nine themselves at the October, 1972, summit in Paris.

Born in Ajaccio, Corsica, Mr. Ortoli spent his youth in Indochina, where his father was a colonial administrator. Close sides see an Asian influence in the Ortoli style: modesty, patience, absolute discretion and a well camouflaged stubborn streak.

But there are also some drawbacks. Mr. Ortoli is timid and nervous in public and sometimes hesitates too long before making major decisions.

A Halting 'Yes' to Compromise in N. Ireland

By Richard Eder

had fed the heart on fantasies, hearts grown brutal from the face; substance in our enemies in our face.

—William Butler Yeats, Meditations in Time of Civil War

Vienna Talks Troop Cuts at Fast Pace

By Don Cook

VIENNA—More quickly than the Western powers appear to have anticipated, the four-day negotiations here between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on mutual military force reductions have gotten down to the nitty-gritty of proposals for possible cuts on both sides. The negotiations, which began on Dec. 18, are being held in the NATO allies' headquarters in the city of Vienna. The talks are being held in a "quick-fix" format, with the parties agreeing to meet daily to discuss the proposals. The talks are being held in a "quick-fix" format, with the parties agreeing to meet daily to discuss the proposals. The talks are being held in a "quick-fix" format, with the parties agreeing to meet daily to discuss the proposals.

Second Option

These would be dealt with under the second option for the talks, which is labeled by the NATO side as the "evergreen" option. As opposed to the "quick-fix" option, which would have the parties agree to a comprehensive agreement on force reductions, the "evergreen" option would have the parties agree to a series of smaller, incremental cuts. The NATO side is favoring the "evergreen" option, while the Warsaw Pact side is favoring the "quick-fix" option. The talks are being held in a "quick-fix" format, with the parties agreeing to meet daily to discuss the proposals. The talks are being held in a "quick-fix" format, with the parties agreeing to meet daily to discuss the proposals.

Stationed Forces

NATO powers have proposed that initial force cuts apply only to U.S. and Russian forces in other words, the "stationed" forces on foreign territory in central Europe. Moreover, the cuts must not be equal on both sides, but must be heavier on the Warsaw Pact side, reflecting the disproportionate strength of the Warsaw Pact. The United States produced a proposal for the first time in response to Russian and suggested that the Warsaw Pact cut its forces 20 percent, while the U.S. cut its forces by 10 percent. Both sides get down to the nitty-gritty of 700,000 troops on each side.

What does emerge from all this is a distinct negotiating posture of the United States and coming back in the new and proposing an immediate man cut on both sides, to solely to U.S. and Russian forces stationed in West and Germany. This would be a "quick fix" leaving all the questions of percentages and cuts in national force for the "evergreen" balance of the talks.

difficult thing in the Irish tradition: a compromise. Gerry Fitt, leader of the Roman Catholic party that has agreed to work with the Unionists of Brian Faulkner—still, perhaps, the Protestant leader most detested by the Catholic population—put it more prosaically than did the poet: "I did not find it easy to sit down with Brian Faulkner," he told the House of Commons, "and I am sure Brian Faulkner did not find it easy to sit down with me."

It was not easy and it will continue not to be easy. After the agreement, gunmen, possibly belonging to the Irish Republican Army, let off a fusillade of rifle and machine-gun fire at the house of one of the Catholic leaders, Austin Currie. Hardliners, who command more than half of the Protestant seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly, said they would wreck the agreement and Mr. Faulkner as well, and they may do it.

Agreement on a coalition executive is the first of the two stages of the British plan whereby Protestants and Catholics are to join in running part of the affairs of Northern Ireland under British protection and safeguards for at least another decade. The hope is that in this time instinctive antagonism will be replaced by instinctive cooperation.

The second part is the setting up of a Council of Ireland, a North-South institution that will link Dublin and Belfast and whose functions, though extremely limited at first, will keep alive the possibility of eventual voluntary unification of the country.

Three-Sided Talks

Talks to set up the council will be held next month, with the British and Irish governments and the Northern Ireland leaders participating. Only upon the successful conclusion of these talks will the executive designated last week begin to function.

The executive, along with the Assembly elected this summer, will govern the province except in those areas that the British have reserved for themselves: security, justice, foreign affairs and the basic financial decisions. The three parties that make up the executive—the Unionists, the Catholics, the Social Democratic and Labor party and the small nonsectarian Alliance party—together command about two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly and will, hopefully, be able to count on its support.

The Protestant majority on the executive was absolutely essential. A deep political trauma was inflicted on the Protestant community when the British took away the monopoly of power to which, as the majority group, it felt itself entitled. Approximately 80 percent of Northern Ireland's 1.5 million people are Protestant, and Protestant voters outnumber Catholic voters 2-to-1.

Mr. Faulkner's hold on his followers has been greatly weakened by his consent to share power at all. It would have crumbled completely if still may—if he had not obtained an executive majority. The strains that the tasks of everyday government will impose on the executive will be formidable. Mr. Faulkner will be continuously vulnerable in its own community because it has agreed to work under British rule.

No Halt in Violence

Intercommunal violence will continue for a long time to come, not because the two communities want it but because the armed men on each side are not immediately dependent on broad support and what they do, of course, will put a daily burden on cooperation within the executive.

But despite all the uncertainties, something was achieved last week that has eluded everyone for the last five years. And William Whitelaw, Britain's large, slow and untappable minister for Northern Ireland, is being given credit for it by all sides. It is safe to say that no Briton in this century has made himself so widely respected in Ireland. It was his strength, patience and persistent optimism that held the talks together through constant threats of breakdown. More fundamentally, it was his ability as ruler of the province to hold the respect of wide sectors of each community while doing things that were unacceptable to both, that made the talks possible at all.

Mr. Whitelaw is apparently to be replaced and given a top job in the British cabinet. He will be badly missed in Northern Ireland and the question—and the test of his success—is whether the North will be able to do without him.

Surgery for Rap Brown

BUFFALO, N.Y., Nov. 25 (AP).—H. Rap Brown was reported in "reasonably good condition" yesterday after undergoing surgery for an abscess on his back while hospitalized with pneumonia. Jail officials said. The former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is serving a 5- to 15-year sentence on an armed robbery charge.



United Press International.

AFTER COMPROMISE—Northern Ireland political leaders smiling as they left the Stormont last week after agreement on formation of a coalition government. From left are Unionist party leader Brian Faulkner, State Secretary William Whitelaw, Oliver Napier of the Alliance party and Gerry Fitt of Social Democratic and Labor party.

U.S. Gun Control Dead in Congress, Millions of Cheap Pistols Abound

By Ben A. Franklin

WASHINGTON (NYT).—The struggle for stricter gun control laws that began 10 years ago with the assassination of President Kennedy has brought firearms reformers a decade of some success but mostly frustration.

It took five years—until the shootings of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy in 1968—to elicit from Congress the firearms provisions of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Gun Control Act of 1968.

That was the first important federal effort to curb the proliferation of weapons in this country since the 1930s, when a ban was imposed on ownership of the submachine guns that were used widely by organized crime in the gang wars of the time.

But while the 1968 laws finally ended the booming mail-order gun business, through which Lee Harvey Oswald bought the Italian Army surplus rifle used to kill John F. Kennedy, a loophole in legislation intended to curb the trade in cheap pistols has frustrated enforcement.

Parts Imported

Imports of completed handguns were placed under ban, but imports of handgun parts were not. And, according to available figures from the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, for the four years since the new gun control laws became effective—1969 through 1972—imports of parts for cheap, pot-metal "street guns" have been sufficient to produce a total of 4,072,711 "Saturday night specials."

Such guns, which may sell for as little as \$15 each, are held in contempt by knowledgeable collectors and firearms enthusiasts but are nonetheless in brisk demand.

In addition, 1,874,611 better-quality pistols for "sporting purposes" have also been imported in the last four years, for a total of more than 6.5 million imported handguns. By coincidence, that is potentially one gun for each of the 5.9 million serious crimes reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation last year.

American handgun manufacturers have withheld domestic production figures. But in July, 1972, the Treasury Department began requiring the industry to report its handgun output—and it was 902,700 pistols in the final six months of 1972 alone, or perhaps an annual total of 1.8 million of the more expensive, higher-precision, American-made units.

Accordingly, from both imported and domestic sources, something more than 8.5 million handguns of varying quality and cost may have come into the United States gun market during 1972.

66% of Murders

The year 1972 was one in which firearms were used to commit 66 percent of the 18,529 murders in the country, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported. And 54 percent of the murders, or 10,090 killings listed by the FBI, were committed with handguns. Firearms were used in a quarter of the 388,850 aggravated assaults, the bureau said.

"Since 1967, the use of firearms to murder has increased 59 per-

cent, and assaults with firearms have increased 85 percent," the FBI said.

Inexpensive revolvers were used in the attempted assassination in Maryland of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama during his 1972 presidential campaign and in the robbery-shooting of Sen. John C. Stennis, D. Miss., outside his Washington home in January.

In a report following those shootings, the Senate Judiciary Committee called the handgun loophole in the 1968 law "a loophole of staggering proportions" through which more than a million cheap handguns were coming on the "street gun" market here each year.

Yet, there is agreement here, even among the scanty "anti-gun" forces in Washington, that legislation to curb the increase in handguns—even the largely illicit trade in the cheap "Saturday night" crime weapons—is unlikely to receive any consideration until 1975, if then. That is because, to members of Congress, the politics of guns often seems almost as formidable as the weapons themselves. And 1974 is an election year.

The chief sponsor of an amendment to close the loophole in the 1968 gun law, for example, has been Sen. Birch Bayh. The Indiana Democrat is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on juvenile delinquency, the group from which almost all the legislative initiative on firearms control reform has come in the last decade. From 1963 to 1968, when laws finally were passed, the subcommittee held annual gun control hearings. There were hearings last year, too.

Long Gun Control

The 1968 laws turned out to impose more or less effective control of shotguns and rifles. The laws prohibited the interstate shipment (mail order) and also the over-the-counter sale of both hand guns and long guns to non-residents of a gun dealer's state.

Dealers were required to obtain purchasers' statements of proof that they were 21 or over, were not felons and were of sound mind. Detailed sales records had to be kept, including records of the sale of ammunition.

Under the 1968 legislation, the proliferation of cheap "Saturday night specials" guns was to have been controlled by import standards designed to bar the entry of cheap, small, light, easily concealable handguns of such flimsy manufacture that they could have no legitimate "sporting purpose."

The theory was that, although the ban applied only to imports, American manufacturers would not, or could not profitably, produce the so-called pot-metal gun—made of alloys hardly superior to those used in children's cap pistols and designed to wholesale at \$8 to \$10.

But by importing cheaply made foreign pistol parts and merely assembling them in the United States, some American makers have legally continued to qualify cheap "junk guns" as domestically made, and therefore, exempt from the "sporting purposes" requirement thought to have been imposed on imports.

Pressure on Congress

An attempt to close the loophole, sponsored by Sen. Bayh, was passed by the Senate 85 to 25 in August, 1972—three months after the shooting of Gov. Wal-

lace—but was bottled up just before the elections in the House Judiciary Committee by the then chairman, former Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York. Mr. Celler, who had long favored stiff firearms controls, said on that election eve: "We are a gun country, and the members of the committee are very gun conscious."

The National Rifle Association, the country's largest anti-gun-control organization, was then urging its members "to bear in mind that all congressmen must stand for re-election this fall."

"There must be a flood of letters, calls and telegrams from sportsmen to their congressmen" opposing the measure to close the loophole, the National Rifle Association said.

The association's position, as set out in its magazine, "The American Rifleman," was that the amendment was being "widely misrepresented as a proposal to prohibit the sale of poor-quality, crudely made and unsafe handguns" but, in fact, would "eliminate the sale or delivery of one-third of all handgun models now made in the United States without reference to quality or price, or their use for self-protection or the defense of home and business."

Sen. Bayh, who is up for re-election himself next year, was described by a pro-gun-control admirer here recently as "understandably not—and I mean in no way—about to take any initiative now on guns." Recently a wire-service photograph of him sighting a revolver at a target match in Indiana was widely circulated.

No gun-control legislation is being pushed in the House, either, for the same reason.

As Result of Watergate

Revolution in News Reporting

By Martin Arnold

WASHINGTON (NYT).—The Watergate disclosures have touched off what many Washington journalists believe to be at least a minor revolution in the craft of news reporting. Like most revolutions, this one combines the good with the bad.

Reporters are riding high, for it was the press that unearthed the Watergate scandals and brought about the investigations into them. It has become "in" to be labeled an investigative reporter, and, since Watergate, the press in general has become more suspicious of official statements. Once again, the trend in journalism has swung toward the "exclusive" story which in turn breeds competition and is considered all to the good by most media people.

Further, many Washington reporters feel that the journalistic atmosphere created during the heady days of Watergate has given a new sharpness to their own reporting.

One Washington correspondent for a major newspaper said, for instance, that "for years we've all believed that large corporations were making illegal campaign contributions—now we're proving it, and it makes for an important story."

Other Side

But there is another side to this press euphoria. There is the worry within the field, for instance, that in scurrying about for "exclusives," the reporting in some cases might get sloppy.

"The truth is there's a lot of fast and loose stuff being printed," said Robert Maynard, an associate editor of The Washington Post, who is also the paper's "ombudsman."

On the other hand, many reporters now feel that the apparently insatiable demands from editors for exclusives has led to greater reliance on the "who cares exclusive"—a story that is exclusive and is presented in the trappings of exclusivity ("informed sources said"), but in reality is relatively unimportant.

Another problem, particularly for news organizations with small Washington reporting teams, is that in the rush for Watergate stories, other less dramatic but nonetheless important news stories went without coverage. The New York Times, for example, with one of the largest Washington news bureaus, went through many days during which three-quarters of the bureau's stories were about Watergate or had some relation to Watergate. And this created another problem, that of manpower, for in-

vestigative reporting often requires endless hours of work, and often the facts found do not hold up and there is no story.

Martin Nolan, who heads the Washington news bureau for the Boston Globe, said that his chief concern with Watergate "was that other news was being squeezed out of the paper."

Washington reporters have another concern that grew out of Watergate. It is the institution-alization of what is called "source reporting." That is, facts in a news article are attributed to unnamed sources. This has always been a problem for the Washington-based journalist, but before Watergate most news-gathering organizations were tightening up on the "sources" story.

Now the practice is resuming again. Still, on balance most Washington journalists believe that Watergate has had a profoundly positive and even invigorating effect on their work.

Independent Probes

For instance, several of the larger news gathering organizations are doing their own independent investigations into the background of vice-presidential designee Gerald R. Ford of Michigan and into Sen. William Saxbe, the Ohio Republican, and Leon Jaworski, who were chosen by President Nixon to be attorney general and special Watergate prosecutor, respectively. This is something that has seldom been done in the past by the Washington press corps.

Benjamin C. Bradlee, executive editor of The Washington Post, said that "it stirred up a virulence that is better, I think, than the White House press corps was wounded by Watergate. They asked, 'How come we missed it?' It's good, that questioning."

Bob Woodward, one of the two Post reporters whose work on Watergate led to a Pulitzer Prize for the paper, says, however, that "some of the White House reporters are no more than sophisticated stenographers" and have "an obscene affection for the official version of events."

"Watergate has demonstrated that they were being led to," he said, in pointing out another problem that he has discerned. "And so these reporters have adopted what I would only characterize as a superficial toughness. They go to press conferences and think they're being great investigators by asking the President questions like, 'Don't you think you should resign?' That's

not to say there's not some very good White House reporters—but I think the client [the reader] should demand generally a better performance, from myself included."

'Sourced' Article

The main dispute within journalism resulting from Watergate involves the "sourced" article—that attributes news to any anonymous source.

"This is a legitimate reportorial technique, and one that will be with us forever, because there will always be news sources whose effectiveness would be lost if their names became known. And so far, no major news ga'—organization has made an important mistake in a Watergate story.

But such mistakes can occur, and sometimes did during the investigation into the affairs of former Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew. In August, for instance, Time magazine reported that sources close to the investigation said that almost certainly Agnew would be indicted.

"The fact of the matter was that at that time not a word had been presented to a grand jury about Agnew, so how could anyone report that he would be indicted?" Mr. Maynard of The Post asked. Agnew was never indicted.

The responsible reporter, most journalists believe, uses the unnamed source mostly as a starting point. From there he tries to pin down the information with other sources, to confirm the original source, and then attempts to tighten that source even further,

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King Oil

Not all the leaders of the Arab states will meet by the sea today near Algiers to talk about their collective future. Iraq and Libya want war with Israel; Jordan is unhappy about the prospect of an independent Palestinian state that would hold territory it claims. And, doubtless, there will be other differences among the members of the Arab League. But none of this can obscure the fact that the Arabs have succeeded in making a deeper impression upon the world at large than when their horsemen first burst out of the desert to proclaim that God is God, and Mohammed is his prophet. Arab oil has thus far been the most successful political weapon of any commodity in recorded history. Never has the withholding of one product created such dramatic effects as the Arab oil boycott—partial and selective though it may be.

Moreover, the oil states that have applied this leverage at a critical moment in a mounting global energy crisis are relatively invulnerable to countermeasures: Petroleum at the source is far easier to destroy than to seize by force, and the refusal to supply goods to the Arab lands could lead to consequences far more drastic for those taking such action than those against whom the action is directed. Meanwhile, the United States is being subjected to frictions with its allies in Europe and Asia, and they, in turn, confront economic and political strains for which they are ill-prepared.

For the long haul, it is doubtless necessary for all industrial states to make revolutionary adjustment to a crisis which has only been precipitated by Arab action; to lessen their dependence upon a single and rapidly diminishing source of energy. That these adjustments must come may temper the historic impact of King Oil's emergence as a major political figure. It should also give the Arab leaders reason to consider seriously the short-term implications of their decisions in Algeria.

That the moderates among them are aware of this is apparent from the absence of radicals from Libya and Iraq. Very large modifications in the borders resulting from the 1967 war are inevitable; that has long been accepted by most of Europe, and by America as well. But the existence of Israel as an independent, viable state is something to which most of the world, and the UN as an institution, is committed.

To reconcile these two positions is not impossible—in fact, it is essential. Any other course would leave the whole world with a legacy of economic and political confusions that would benefit no one. It is necessary to make of oil a constitutional monarch, aware of his responsibilities as well as his power—and of the fact that he must soon share that power with other sources of energy, and see it restricted by practices which recognize that petroleum is far from inexhaustible. King Oil has won some battles—he must now be enlisted in the service of a durable peace.

Breakthrough in Ulster

Is it peace at last for Northern Ireland? British Minister William Whitelaw, who engineered the historic agreement under which Protestants and Catholics will share governing power over the province for the first time, wisely prefers to speak of "a start and a good start," and to warn of "a very long way to go" before one can be sure that this effort will succeed.

Whether the new system is able to endure, Mr. Whitelaw has wrought a near-miracle just in achieving agreement, on the makeup of the executive body, between the leader of the predominantly Protestant Unionist party, which dominated Ulster politics for half a century, and the chief spokesman for the 500,000-strong Catholic minority. It is a tremendous personal achievement for the patient, unflappable Mr. Whitelaw that casts him as a potential party leader and prime minister.

There is credit for all concerned with the negotiations, including the government of the Irish Republic, along with the British government and the small Alliance party, which helped build a bridge between the Unionists and the Catholic Social Democratic and Labor party, and will participate in the coalition. The political courage shown by leaders of the two major coalition partners, not to mention their physical courage in the face of constant threats by Protestant and Catholic extremists alike, augurs well for Ulster's future.

Brian Faulkner, the last Northern Ireland prime minister before Britain imposed direct

rule twenty months ago, was the only major Protestant leader willing to share power with Catholics in an effort to build a viable system. He won approval of his Unionist party for this course by the narrowest of margins, and he must still sustain bitter attacks from Protestant leaders bent on wrecking the new executive.

In return for gaining Catholics their first share of provincial power, Gerard Fitt, leader of the Social Democratic and Labor party, gave up a demand for parity with the Unionists on the 11-member executive, accepting four posts to six for Mr. Faulkner. Mr. Fitt and his colleagues stood up courageously against the murderous Irish Republican Army Provisionals, however, even as Mr. Faulkner had done with Protestant terrorist organizations.

The next step in Mr. Whitelaw's program will be a meeting of executive leaders, including Mr. Faulkner and Mr. Fitt, with British and Irish Republic representatives to consider formation of a Council of Ireland, the first official all-Irish body to be constituted since partition a half-century ago. Dublin and the Ulster Catholics hope the Council may evolve slowly into an all-Ireland government; but Mr. Faulkner cannot yet accept such a goal.

Genuine peace is not yet at hand in Ulster, but after four years of sectarian strife that has claimed more than 900 lives, an intelligent compromise has been painfully negotiated that points toward a better tomorrow for the long-suffering province.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

'Finlandization'

The long, hard road democratic Finland has had to pursue to obtain Moscow's acquiescence to new trade links with the nine-nation Common Market illustrates the kind of Soviet pressure known as "Finlandization."

Right up to the final moment, when Finland's parliament overwhelmingly ratified the agreement with the Nine providing for virtual free trade in industrial products, the Finnish Communists fought the move and, as the only opponents, voted as a bloc against it.

Finland earns its way in the world by selling wood, pulp, paper and other products to West Europe. Britain is its biggest market, followed by West Germany and Sweden. With Britain's entry, the Common Market alone now buys fully two-thirds of Finland's exports. Despite this dependence—or, perhaps, because of it—Finland's efforts to protect its sales, and its economic future, have met repeated Soviet resistance.

During two years of negotiation with the Common Market, Moscow was kept informed. Yet, when the time came to sign the agreement in July, 1972, along with six other nonmember countries, Finland was forced to hold back pending further consultations with Moscow.

Soviet pressure was denied by both Moscow and Helsinki, but it was ultimately revealed that there had been a significant secret conversation between Soviet Communist Sec-

retary Brezhnev and President Kekkonen of Finland at Brezhnev's dacha outside of Moscow in August, 1972. Mr. Brezhnev took strong exception to the agreement, charging that it altered Finland's neutrality and allied Finland politically with the European Community. The consultations continued and Finland's signature, delayed for 15 months, finally was accompanied by a Finnish declaration that the agreement would be abrogated if it interfered with Finland's neutrality or its special relationship with Moscow under the 1948 Finno-Russian friendship treaty.

Meanwhile, Finland felt constrained to negotiate an agreement with Comecon, pledging itself to expand trade with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. More important, the Finnish Constitution was "re-interpreted" to call off the next presidential election and enable parliament to extend President Kekkonen's third six-year term by four years, starting next March.

In the quiet, behind-the-scenes way in which Moscow influences Finnish events, it had been made clear that the Kremlin would accept Finland's agreement with the Common Market only if given reassurance against a change in foreign policy by Mr. Kekkonen's continuance in office.

Fear of Soviet attack has faded with détente, but as Foreign Minister Jobert of France made clear again a few days ago, fear of "Finlandization" has been kept alive by Soviet policy in Europe and elsewhere.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

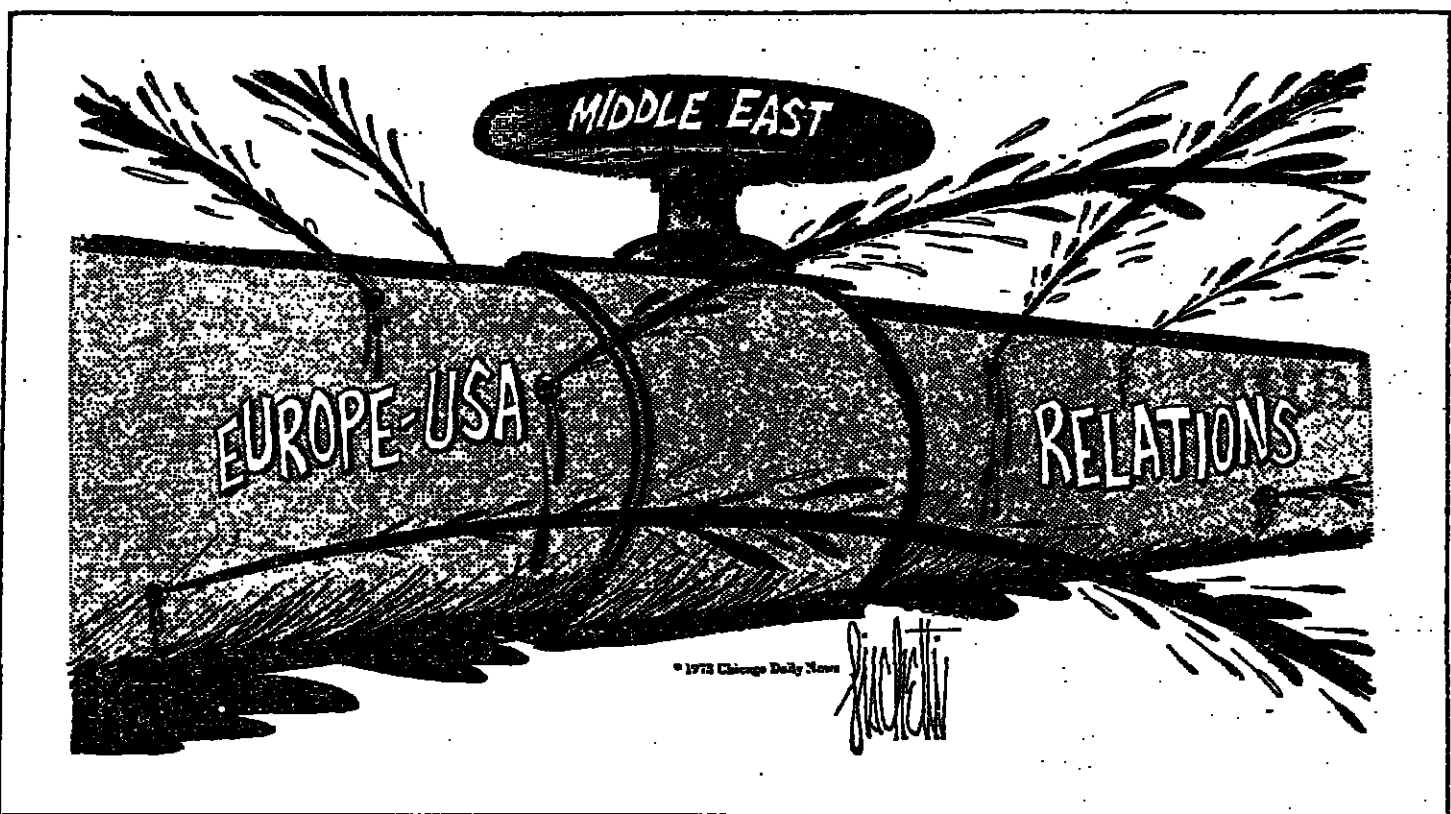
In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

Fifty Years Ago

November 26, 1898.
PHILADELPHIA—Leaders of society here, having come to the conclusion that fashionable women need more sleep, have arranged a meeting to inaugurate earlier hours for stopping dances. They want dancing to begin at nine p.m. instead of eleven p.m., so that the girls will retain their fresh complexions. With the new rule, the length of the dances will be the same, only they will now end earlier.

November 26, 1923.
NEW YORK—Bandits who specialize in luring taxicab chauffeurs to take them to isolated places and then rob them of their valuables have been operating so successfully in midtown Manhattan that special detective squads have been formed to deal with the situation. It will not be easy for the new squad to make the streets and roads safe again, for with so much crime, the police are overworked.



The U.S. People: A Time for Decision

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—At some point the American people are probably going to have to think about the consequences of indecision: about not being able to resolve the Nixon question, not being able either to believe in him or to get rid of him.

There are many problems in life, of course, that we cannot solve but have to learn to live with. Like bores or the Russians, but this isn't one of them, and it may be that trifling helplessly with Mr. Nixon for three long years may hurt our confidence in ourselves and our institutions more than anything else.

For over ten years now, the American people have been sunk in a war they thought they could neither win nor end. They have been battered by racial troubles, by street demonstrations, by inflation, rising prices, a devalued dollar, trade deficits, balance of trade problems, the danger and stupor of dope, and a lot of other things—including what to do about the kids that troubled them but seemed beyond their control.

Watergate and all its attendant scandals were merely the latest chapter in this disillusioning American story, and for a while the people couldn't believe it and then couldn't ignore it and were angry about it, but now they are reading again into a kind of protective feeble cynicism.

The Trend

All this is understandable but sad, for when we think of ourselves as a self-governing people, we are supposed to mean precisely that, and if we do not govern ourselves but evade decisions because they are hard, the chances are that things will get worse, as with a sick man who will not face a necessary operation.

In a few days, the country will be celebrating the 189th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, or rather, we probably won't be celebrating it, having forgotten what it means, but for guidance to the deepest questions of our time it is still a useful document.

It didn't say we were going to have things easy. It didn't put the government above the people, but the people above the government. The Founding Fathers said the people had certain "unalienable" rights which came not from their politicians but from their creator, and as Jefferson said in his first inaugural address, "To violate [them] would be oppression."

"The fundamental question which faces us everywhere and in many forms," Walter Lippmann wrote long ago, "has to do with the nature of man, and most

precisely, it is whether adult men and women are to be regarded as having that freedom of will which makes them personally responsible for their conduct."

Lippmann went beyond the question of personal responsibility and argued that the people were ultimately accountable for the conduct of their government, not only at the next election, and that their failure to defend the rights and principles they inherited would weaken both them and the nation.

Responsibility

This is not to say that the American people are responsible for the White House Plumber or all the crimes, conspiracies, burglaries, extortions, forgeries, deceptions or payoffs of the Watergate scandals. Nor should they take it on themselves to try to replace their representatives in the impeachment process, but it does suggest that they have a responsibility to petition the government for a redress of their

grievances and for the establishment of leaders and procedures they can trust.

There is now obviously some confusion in America about all this. The debate in the country is centering on whether we are being fair to Mr. Nixon instead of whether we are being fair to America, which is not the same thing. Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman had to go, not because they had lost the confidence of the President, but because they had lost the confidence of almost everybody else.

Spino Agnew had to go because he fiddled with his income tax and got some free liquor and groceries, but Mr. Nixon fiddled with our freedom, ran a war in Cambodia without the consent of the Congress and deceived the American people about it, established a secret police in the White House, and picked the clumsiest bunch of amateurs that ever tried to impose their bad judgments on the government of the United States.

You can excuse this all you like, and admire the President's guts for fighting for his life, which is fair enough, but some things you cannot do. You cannot restore enough confidence and trust in enough people to enable the President to preside over ambiguous policies which in the end have to be taken on faith in the integrity and judgment of the President.

And you cannot avoid the consequences of three more years of indecision. Not to decide this question is one way of deciding it, and assuring that the doubts and frustrations and cynicism of the people—particularly the rising generation—go on.

The House will not impeach and the Senate will not sit in judgment on the case unless they are forced to act by public opinion. But the evidence "at this point in time," as the Watergate boys say, is that the people are tired and bored with the whole thing, and this is the President's hope and the nation's problem.

Chinese Crime and Punishment

By C. L. Sulzberger

PEKING—Many things openly discussed in other societies are considered indiscreet here and one taboo subject is crime and punishment. When I asked Chu Mu-chih, a member of the Communist Central Committee and head of Eshinshu, the New China News Agency, how crime was reported in the press, he replied: "Generally we don't report such things because they are not in the mainstream of life."

He did not, however, pretend that malefaction was secret. He said: "We let the people know about such cases by other methods. In our country, if there is a serious criminal case it is not just a police matter. The masses take part in investigating it. A court, when making judgment, explains its views to the people and they explain their reactions. We do not have a jury system. In major cases the public sometimes puts out public notices."

Mr. Chu said that treason, murder, "serious arson and serious rape" were punishable by death "but our system is to kill as little as possible. We cannot yet do away with capital punishment. Generally executions are by shooting."

"But there are two kinds of treatment: one is immediate execution because the people are disgusted by a crime; the other is sentencing to death but postponement of execution for one or two years. If the criminal acts well and reforms, sentence is remitted."

In northern Shensi province, I asked Tu Chin-chang of the Yenan revolutionary committee if he had a criminal problem. He said there "are some thieves" and these were dealt with by the Public Security Bureau, a kind of national police force. Thieves were released "after criticism and education," but he wouldn't indicate how long that process took. "Class enemies or those who refuse to reform" are sent to jail; but these were "rare."

He said courts in his area comprised judges elected by the people together with what is "like a jury" of three or four persons. The judge does the sentencing. Murderers are shot. First they are bound and forced to listen to public denunciations and then taken to a distant place and executed. He wouldn't say how large a firing squad was, adding "it takes only one man with a gun to kill."

As far as I can ascertain, there is no Chinese statute book or criminal code available in any foreign language and I am not at all certain such a document exists in Chinese. Mr. Tu Chin-chang, deputy director of information for the Foreign Ministry, told me all laws are new and revolutionary although some minor statutes were "based on a study of foreign codes."

The oil-consuming nations in Europe and elsewhere seem to believe that by adopting a pro-Arab, anti-Israeli policy the Arabs will again increase production and stabilize prices. This is an illusion. The decrease in oil production comes from economic self-interest. The Arabs are using the occasion to gain as much political as well as economic advantage.

The oil-consuming nations can put an end to the oil boycott and assure their oil supply by exerting counterpressure. A stoppage of exports to Arab countries would probably be enough, since the Arab oil nations are dependent almost absolutely on the consuming nations for all major imports from food to machines. Add to this the fact that Arab oil money is mostly kept in Western banks. One has only to freeze the bank accounts.

PETER GOLDMAN, Copenhagen.

Assessing Need for Impeachment

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON—"People have a right to know whether or not their President is a crook," Mr. Nixon said the other day. But how are we going to find out?

Not certainly from the series of personal appearances the President has been making in what the White House is pleased to call "Operation Candor." Mr. Nixon, in fact, is one of the most trustworthy witnesses on his own behalf.

For better or worse—and it is not always for the worst—Mr. Nixon has in his makeup far less psychological space for failure than most men. When things get tough he fights back, and when they go wrong he tends to blame others. Hence, his recent contretemps with former Attorney General Elliott Richardson about the firing of special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Mr. Richardson is a man prone to present controversial points in highly abstract formulations. Those formulations are often obscure in their meaning, and few men are less well equipped to divine their sense than the unshelved soldier who now serves as the White House chief of staff, Gen. Alexander Haig. So it is entirely possible that Gen. Haig did not understand Mr. Richardson when serving as his pipeline to the President.

But the President and Gen. Haig could not admit such weaknesses. Instead they implied that Richardson lied. They intimated that a fair system—as distinct from one rigged to get Mr. Nixon—would have Richardson up on perjury charges.

If we cannot expect to get the beginning of what we need to know from Mr. Nixon, there are also limitations on the investigations being conducted by the special Senate committee and the Watergate prosecutor. The Senate committee is limited in its jurisdiction. It has to stick to matters relevant to the presidential campaign, which means it cannot go into such clearly important transactions as the President's tax returns or the payments made to his homes in Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

As to the special prosecutor, there is no reason to suppose that Cox's replacement, Leon Jaworski, has already shown in his handling of the case involving the White House Plumbers that he is not going to be snowed just because the White House yells "national security."

Even so, Mr. Jaworski also has limitations. In particular, he has no mandate to investigate such matters as the Rebozo case and the President's taxes and homes.

An impeachment proceeding knows no such bounds. The House Judiciary Committee, to which the impeachment resolutions have been referred, is setting up to go into an across-the-board investigation of Mr. Nixon and his conduct as President. It will conduct not only any routine matters of fact, but in the larger question of whether Mr. Nixon abused the public trust which is the root of legitimacy in the United States.

Messy Operation

The organization of this inquiry is necessarily going to be an extremely difficult and messy operation. The House Judiciary Committee has 38 members broken into factions. Its chairman, Peter Rodino of New Jersey, is new in the job, and its ranking minority member, Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, lacks the bipartisan approach of his predecessor, William McCulloch of Ohio, which made the committee so effective in the past. A great deal will have to devolve on the general counsel and his staff and on the selection of a special subcommittee that will actually conduct the investigation.

Even if all these arrangements go beautifully, no one should imagine that the hearings can be short or neat, or that there will emerge a particular set of facts that bear the Perry Mason stamp of being the Truth. On the contrary, the hearings are probably going to be full of partisan rancor. They will wrack the country and they will probably arrive only at a general judgment as to whether or not Mr. Nixon betrayed his trust.

For all these reasons, other methods would probably have been preferable. It would still be better if Mr. Nixon, on the confirmation of Gerald Ford to be Vice-President, resigned. But falling that there is no alternative. For had it not been for the issue of whether, in the large moral and intellectual sense, the President is a crook.

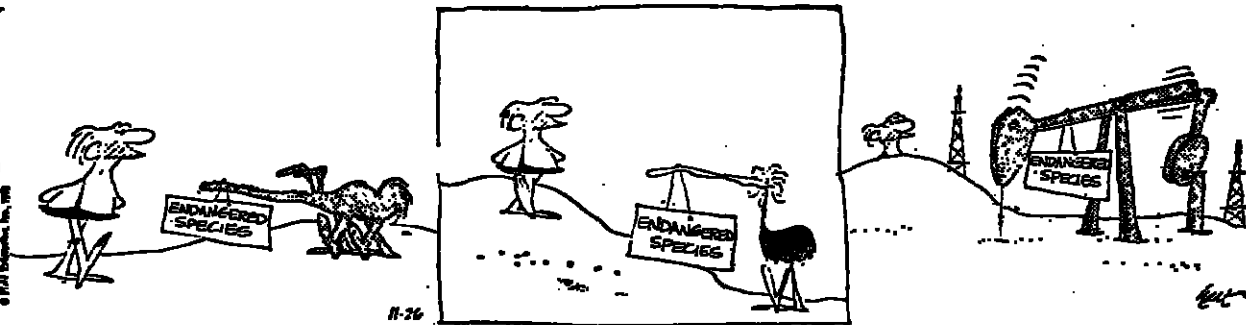
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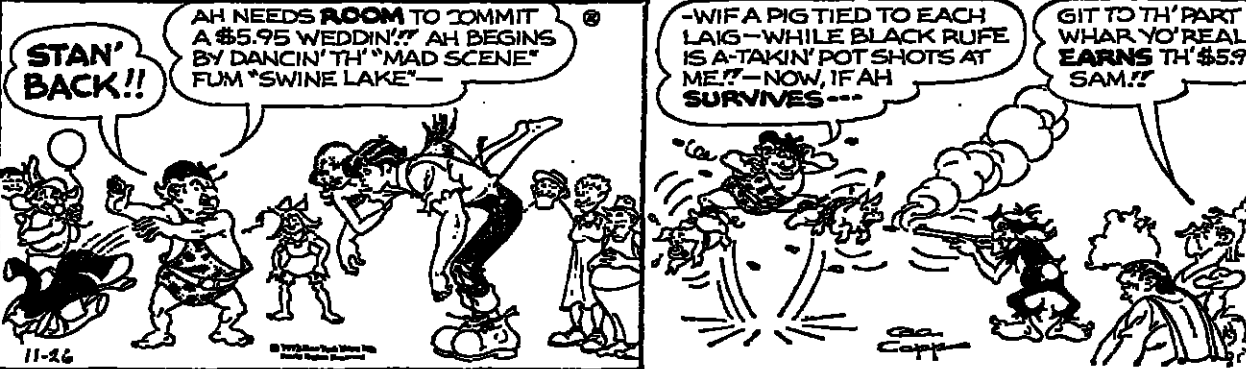
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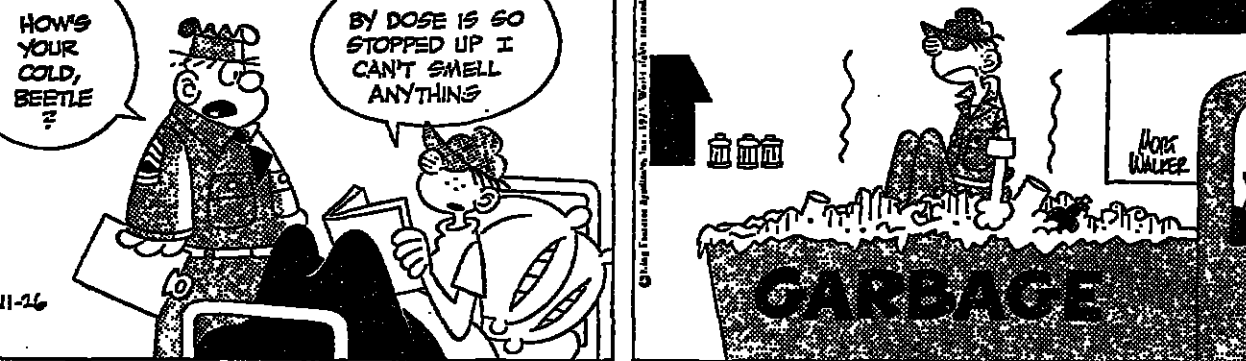
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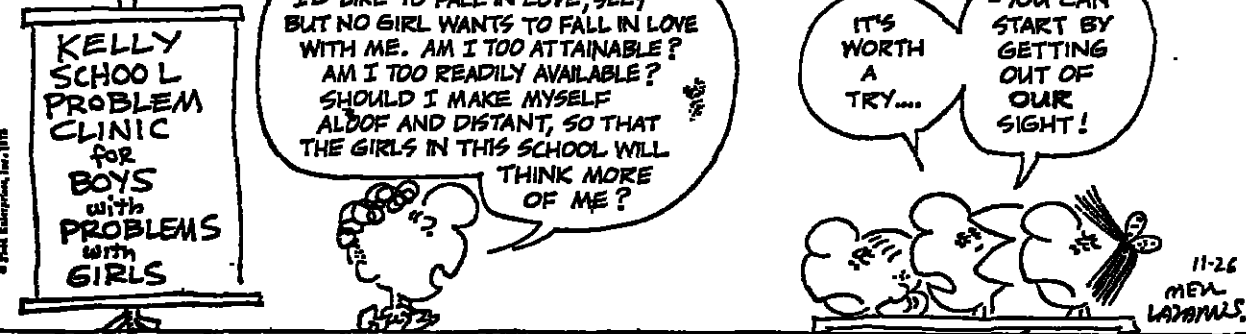
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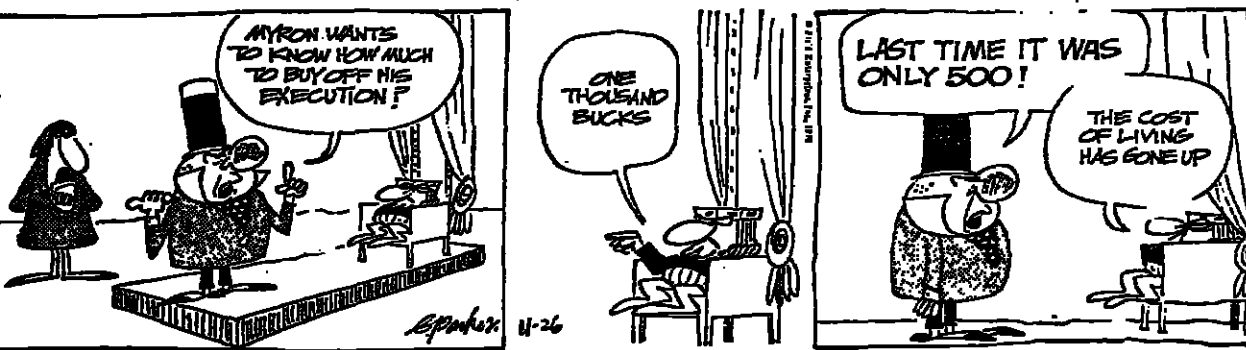
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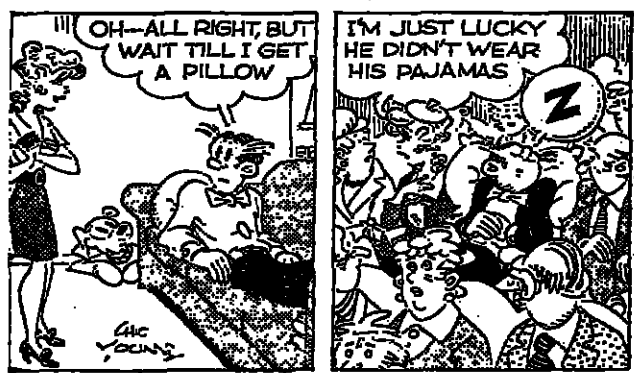
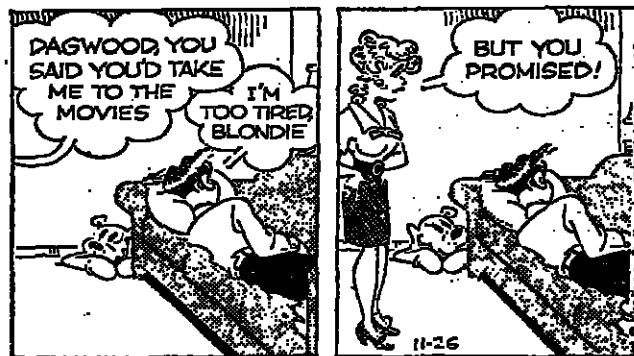
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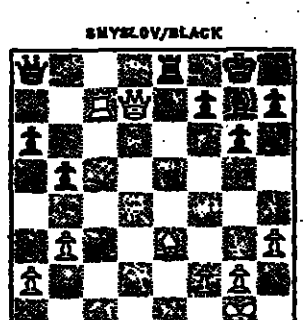
BLONDIE



CHESS

By Robert Byrne

The quarter-finals in the series to determine who will challenge Bobby Fischer for the world championship are only eight weeks away. Tigran Petrosian will play Lajos Portisch in Moscow, Anatoly Karpov will play Lev Polugaevsky in Moscow and I will play Boris Spassky in San Juan. But the site of the Viktor Korchnoi-Henrique Mecking match is still undecided.



Col. Edmund B. Edmondson, executive director of the United States Chess Federation, who is in charge of staging the Korchnoi-Mecking encounter, has promised Mecking, in response to the 21-year-old Brazilian's impassioned plea, that the match will not be held "in the frozen northern part" of the United States.

Korchnoi, yet to be heard from, may well insist that the site come as close as possible to the conditions of Leningrad winter. One solution might be to wrap Mecking in an electric blanket and seat Korchnoi on a cake of ice.

It Couldn't Hurt While Korchnoi's hard-hitting, sharp tactical style is better suited to tournament than to match play, I favor his chances over shoot-instar Mecking's. The stipulation, new this year, that the winner take three games outright (or the majority of 16 games) cannot hurt him.

No Counterplay Defiantly brushing off Smyslov's attempted counterplay at moves 33-36, Korchnoi advanced his passed pawn as rapidly as he could safely manage it. His precise 47 Q-B6ch! warded off any trouble from ... R-KB4 and after 49 Q-B3, Smyslov could not exchange queens without succumbing quickly in an easy rook-and-pawn ending.

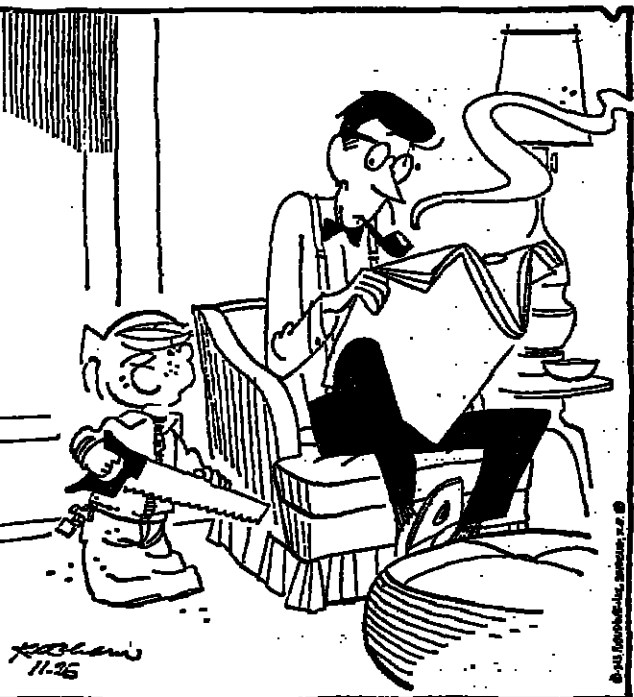
Smyslov's exchanging of his center pawns at moves 16 and 17 to gain free play for his pieces and to expose the White KP to pressure is a strategy with which Paul Keres has experimented extensively; its success or failure depends heavily on tactical considerations in the

Korchnoi's final Coup, 51. R-N6! compelled Smyslov to resign, since 51... QxR; 52 QxR; 53 Q-K7ch; R-R3; 54 Q-B6ch allows White to make another queen.

White: Korchnoi Black: Smyslov

1 P-B4 P-K4 18 N-P7 N-K7 35 Q-P Q-Q3 42 R-B6 R-N2 49 Q-B3 Q-K2 56 Q-N4 Q-N4 63 Q-N4 Q-N4 70 Q-B4 Q-N2 77 P-P P-P 84 R-B1 R-B1

DENNIS THE MENACE



BOOKS

CECIL B. DE MILLE
By Charles Higham. Illustrated. 335 pp. Scribners. \$10.
CWTW: THE MAKING OF GONE WITH THE WIND
By Gavin Lambert. Illustrated. 238 pp. Atlantic-Little, Brown. \$7.95.
PIECES OF TIME
By Peter Bogdanovich. 263 pp. Arbor House/Esq. \$7.95.
Reviewed by Gerald Walker

In his effective, low-keyed, but obviously affectionate introduction to "Pieces of Time," the former Esquire editor Harold Hayes, for whom Peter Bogdanovich used to write about movies before he started directing them ("The Last Picture Show," "Paper Moon," etc.), makes the claim that Mr. Bogdanovich "has seen some 45,000 of the 60,000 films made in Hollywood." Not only seen, apparently, but studied. Reading that I was tempted to say, "Haven't we all?"—until, that is, I started working out the arithmetic.

That's the trouble about movies. For most of us, most of our lives, movies have been, like Rascal, Corn's ass, all around us. We think we know about them, we're all experts, even including book reviewers and some authors. Take Mr. Higham, alas. I fully expected a book on Cecil B. De Mille to be a little like a treatise on the political philosophy of the late Grover Whelan, New York's "official greeter," going back as far as Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia's administration; and I was not disappointed. It is, of course, a contradiction in terms to expect a nonsuperficial book about the most superficial (the subtitle says "most successful," and that's probably true, too) film maker of them all. The Anglo-Australian prize rises little above the and-then-he-died level, and its stiffness and tediousness are absolutely adequate to its task of blunting points and stirring anecdotes. The index is comprehensive and I was grateful for the many pictures, not because they are so good, but because they occupy pages I didn't have to read.

On the other hand, the British novelist-screenwriter Gavin Lambert knows everything about sham-and-tinsel-and-about things, and his writing, as he has produced the best fiction ever written about Hollywood—his story collection, "The Slide Area," and his novel, "Inside Daisy Clover," make F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Last Tycoon" and Norman Mailer's "The Deer Park" to cite two highly touted contenders, look overworked and groping. In "GWTW" he offers a detailed reconstruction (if one can use that word about a movie on this subject) of the entire three-year process of acquisition (in 1936,

the year of the super best-seller's publication), adaptation (by an endless parade of screenwriters, always in collaboration with David O. Selznick, the ubiquitous, omnipotent producer), filming (directed by an endless, Selznick-plagued parade of directors—actually, three), of the now-legendary Civil War epic of Scarlett and Rhett.

Mr. Lambert, a first-rate movie critic and former editor of the magazine Sight and Sound, fills his elegant pages with knowledgeable insights and tangible for instance, he points out, "With Sidney Howard having already pointed out to him the repetitions in the structure, and (F. Scott) Fitzgerald now criticizing the dialogue for the same reason, Selznick actually held the key, for a re-examination of his troubled script." Lambert then goes on to tell us why Selznick fumbled the key—he was distracted by health problems, marital problems, business problems, which were all intertwined somehow, since Louis B. Mayer of M-G-M, which had supplied the sorely needed backing, was also his father-in-law.

The opening pages, about Selznick's producer-father, Lewis J. Selznick, are a kind of pocket history of Hollywood's early years, stunningly reduced to fewer than 20 pages. The entire book is a triumph of conciseness, movie know-how, and stylish, witty language.

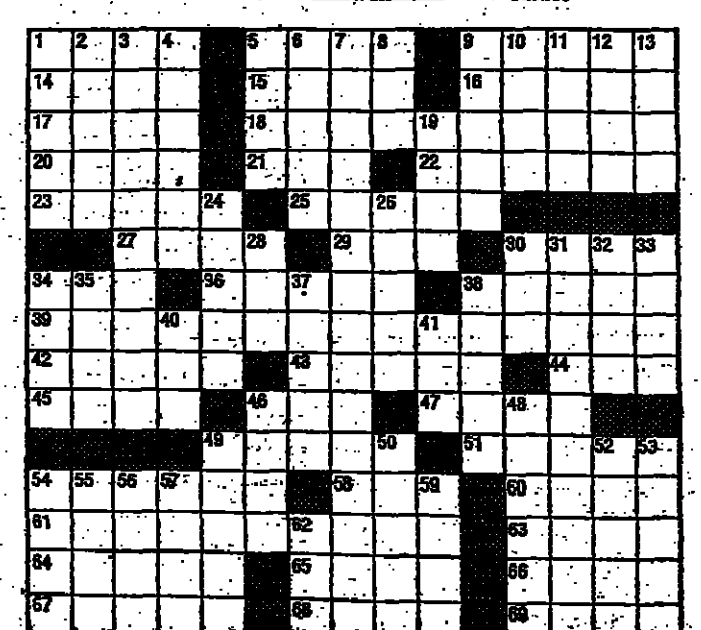
As a young freelance magazine writer (he is now 24), Mr. Bogdanovich, then still a would-be director, cheerfully and rationally admits to hustling magazine assignments about the movies so that he could see free screenings and meet movie people.

Even after Mr. Bogdanovich had made it as a director, he kept writing about the movies, mostly for Hayes's Esquire, and it is his reportage and his columns for that magazine that make up this book. We should be glad he kept at it, for Mr. Bogdanovich writes about movies with sense and joy and no pretentiousness. Consider a chapter on Sex and Violence that contains the line: "Just for starters, it's simply more erotic to buy a dirty movie on the black market than to go to a theater with a bunch of creeps." Or the brilliant, funny, worshipful and down-to-earth portrait and esthetic analysis of the director John Ford at work. Or a thousand other fine things in this collection which, truth to say, does tell of a life in the later places, when Mr. Bogdanovich's head was more filled with images than with words. He is still so good a writer that I hope some magazine editor soon has the sense to assign him to profile Cybill Shepherd (the book is dedicated "For C. S.").

Mr. Walker reviews books for The New York Times.

CROSSWORD By Will Weng

ACROSS
1 Precipice, in Hawaii
5 Oodles
9 Sudden blaze
14 Egyptian god
16 Market purchase
18 Le Mans entry
19 Teases
20 Lunch-counter Abbr.
21 Kind of bridge play
22 Bear witness to
23 Get under way
25 N. C. college
29 Spoil
30 Peak
34 Rocky eminence
36 Coins of Iran
38 Leavings
39 Extra-cost items on a menu
42 Attraction at 1964-65 fair
43 Ascends
44 Iowa college
45 Scotch and
46 Harrison, to friends
47 Goose or Great
49 Wine disorder
51 Field of conflict
52 Entertain
53 Drink
60 Genesis man
61 Roll-top items
63 Heroic poetry
64 Eradicate
66 Country, in law
68 Italian city
69 Capital of County Clare
69 African weight
69 Appear
DOWN
1 Tulleries site
2 Chemical compound
3 Blushing color
4 Implant
5 Face badly at the track
6 Charlie Chan portrayer
7 Main-course item
8 Turf
9 Glass materials
10 Milk: Prefix
11 Pain
12 Arika Indians
13 Formerly, of old
19 Light-bulb word
24 Miss Shearer
26 Autumn pears
28 Fall-air quality
30 Blind—bat
31 Frozen-food staple
32 Kind of drama, for short
33 Common Latin word
34 Recipe measures: Abbr.
35 Line's state
37 Large expanses
38 Lost
40 Call—day
41 Understanding
46 Boxer Max
48 Low characters
49 Footprints, bloodstains, etc.
50 Spooky
52 Snare
53 Indian state
54 Korea's Syngman
55 Merit
56 Fed. agent
57 Bedonk
59 Helper: Abbr.
62 Mail center: Abbr.



مكتبة من الاصل

The Perfect Censor

It would be interesting to sit behind Snyder at a screening

Censorship shelters the community from what it does not go to see. It is protection of the blind. It is right that it should be done by the blind.

virtually every marriage the sexual element counts for 10 per-

On the other hand, he indicated, it was "inconceivable" that his mother's confession could have been published in 1930 when it was written: "She was not an exhibitionist," he said, and to clarify he added, "There's nothing in the book which is the least salacious. It bares the human heart, not the human body."

tent and interrupted. I was quite accustomed to my parents going on long journeys. Our union was created much more by letter. They were both writers and they taught us. There was a vast correspondence between the four of us. My parents would write to each other every day when they were apart. I was a literary game and also rather brilliant. I was a very good

"It was summed up in a remark my father made to me. Mr. Nicolson paused to remember the exact wording. "Only one person in a thousand is a bore and he is interesting because he is one person in a thousand." He added "Tm

Berlin. Von Karajan, who first directed the orchestra in 1938, called the honor "the high point of my love affair with Berlin and the Philharmonic Orchestra."

* * *

With the wedding of Princess Anne neatly wrapped up, another royal romance was back in the rumor mill this weekend when

Miss World, Marjorie Wallace of the U.S.A.

STILL WAITING: Helen Gharibian, of Detroit, for her husband, Rasmik, who has been refused permission to visit the United States. The Soviet Union turned down his request last Tuesday, U.S. State Department said, after suspending a decision for nine months. Mrs. Gharibian met her husband, a musician, while visiting an aunt in Soviet Armenia 18 months ago. She says she

wangled a visa extension so he could stay in the country long enough to marry him. "I'm mad, I can't cry any more," she said. "Here it is two days before our first anniversary. They make him wait all that time only to refuse him. It's a nightmare."

—SAMUEL JUSTICE

[illegible]